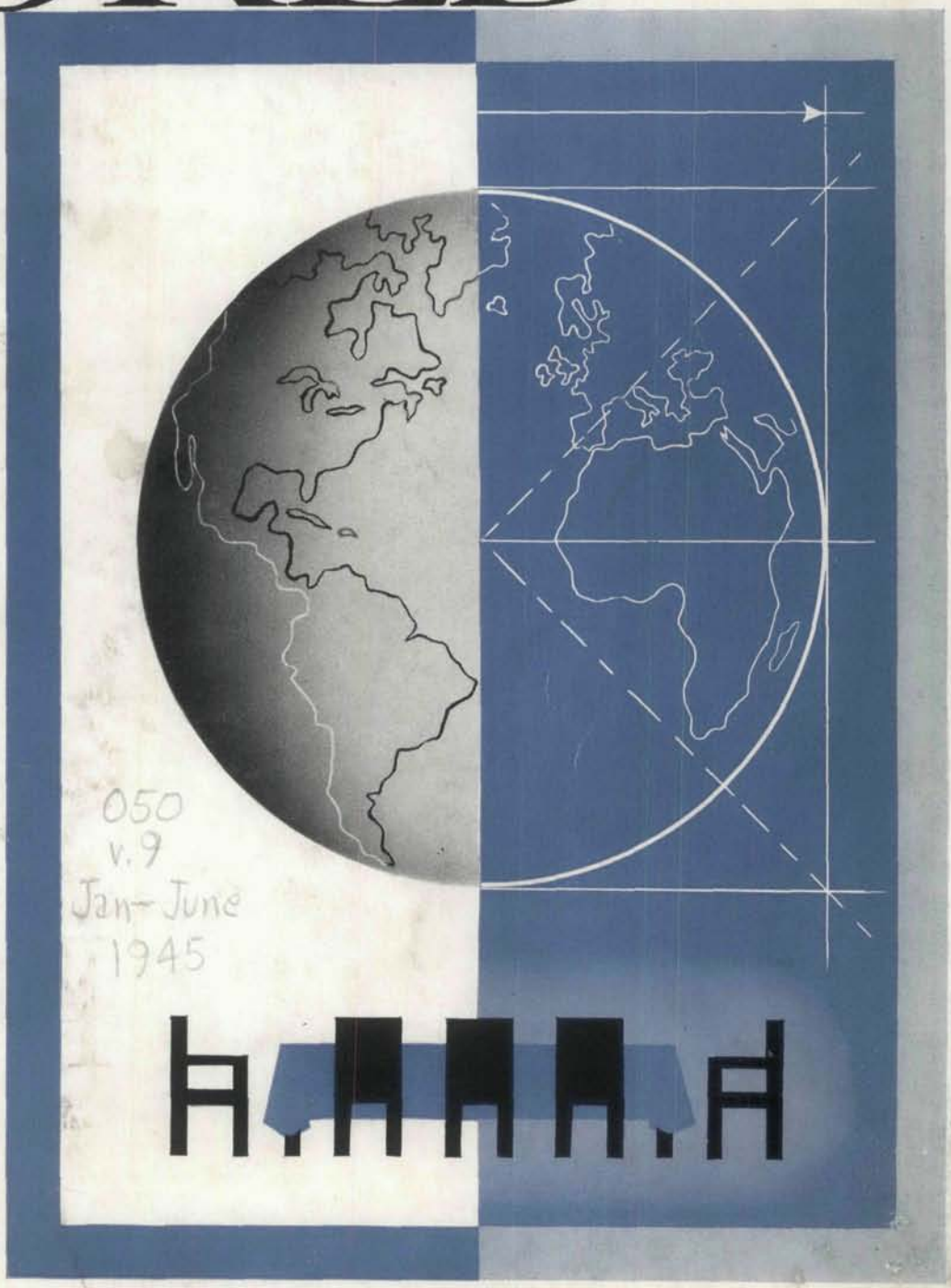
FREE WORLD

Dumbarton Oaks
by
Lord Robert Cecil



NUARY, 1945

STETTINIUS
A Profile

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A WORLD
OPPORTUNITY
Mordecai Ezekiel

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EMERGING
ORLD ORDER
ound Table with:
Ulric Bell
Bruce Bliven
Louis Dolivet
homas K. Finletter
untington Gilchrist
Walter Millis
uth Bryan Rohde
rward V. Sandifer
Myles Standish

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N AMERICAN
PINION POLL
IMMIGRATION

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AWING BY
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Jan-June
1945

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Free Speech

Constitutional Error

The House Judiciary Committee has just reported favorably by 14 to 4 on a measure calling for a constitutional amendment to correct what was probably the greatest error made in the framing of the Constitution—the requirement that treaties must be approved by two-thirds of the senators present.

This provision was not due to a lack of vision on the part of the more far-sighted of the Founding Fathers, but was an unfortunate compromise carried over from early inter-colony suspicions when the four New England colonies, fearful of their fishing rights, and the four Southern colonies, fearful of the control of the Mississippi River, refused to enter the Confederation unless there was a provision requiring approval of treaties by 9 out of the 13 colonies, making it necessary for the New England Group or the Southern Group to secure unanimous approval of at least the five Middle Atlantic colonies to anything either group proposed. James Wilson of the Pennsylvania delegation, speaking during the Constitutional Convention in 1787, said, "If two-thirds are necessary to make peace, the minority may perpetuate war, against the sense of the majority."

Under this undemocratic provision, it would be mathematically possible for 9,222,454 people in the more thinly populated states to elect 33 senators who could prevent the adoption of any Treaty of Peace. When Texas and Hawaii applied for admission to the United States, it was impossible to secure approval by two-thirds of the Senate and it was necessary to delay their entry until the passage of a Joint Resolution by a majority of the Senate and House.

After the last war, a majority of the people and Senate approved our joining the League of Nations, but a minority composed of Senator Lodge and other irreconcilables made it impossible to secure approval by the necessary two-thirds.

Resolutions have been introduced by Congressmen Gossett and Priest for a constitutional amendment to permit the approval of treaties by a majority of the members of the Senate and of the House. It is hoped that one of these resolutions may be passed promptly by the House and while its immediate prospects in the Senate may not be very promising, similar resolutions could be presented to the state legislatures, of which 40 meet in 1945, some immediately after January first.

Passage of resolutions asking for a Constitutional Convention by three-quarters of the State Legislatures would offer a way out of the danger that history might repeat itself in the Senate. I suggest that readers of FREE WORLD see their senators, congressmen and members of the state legislatures on this vital issue, which may affect whether or not there will be a third world war.

Pittsburgh, Pa. FREDERICK C. MCKEE.

The writer of this letter is Chairman of the Political Committee of Americans United for World Organization. FREE WORLD *editors second his suggestion.*

LIBERATION?

Liberation?
Is this the liberation
For which we prayed—
For which we fought
In embattled mountain passes,
In hunger and in cold?
Is this the liberation
For which we struck out—bold—
Against the hated Hun—
Bare fists against his steel—
And crawled in stinking mud holes
On the plain?
Is this the liberation
We have strived so long to gain?
Is this the reason—
Why in Fascist prisons
Our blood ran with the lash,
And our nostrils quivered
From the stench of rotten flesh?
Is this the liberation—
This rot and tyranny?
Shall the men whose programs
Thrust on us this war,
Thrust on us another?
Are these the final fruits
Of our endeavor?
Ideals and goals for victory—
Shall these be lost—
In liberation?
They cannot be!
By the force and will of free men—
They shall not be!

A. Stanley Mendelson

Fighting Grandmother

I read FREE WORLD regularly, shared by my neighbor. I was thrilled by the article, "What I Am Fighting For," by Lt. Buckeridge. I have three young grandsons in war service—one in Patton's Third at Metz, one training for amphibian service in the Pacific at San Diego and one a pilot in Army Air Service.

MRS. A. K. HULBURD.

Thanks. We share your enthusiasm for Buckeridge and are sure that your grandsons are his type of liberal, fighting American.

* * *

Slam the U. S. Door?

The American Legion's proposal that Congress pass a law abolishing immigration until there are less than one million unemployed is doubly shocking coming from an organization that has always worked for the common good. Abolishing immigration until unemployment drops below that figure means abolishing it for all time, which is the most flagrant example of selfish nationalism and isolationism I have ever seen.

It reveals outright ignorance of economics. Unemployment is not the result of a number of people living in a given area but of an unsound economy.

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Free Speech (Continued)

In a sound economy, each child born provides enough work in supplying him with his needs to assure him a job when he reaches maturity. Depressions are not caused by overpopulation, at least not in this country—for there are still vast fields untilled and resources undeveloped—but from business abuses. Depressions are the result of the practices of shortsighted employers who, for a quick profit, reduce the purchasing power of the nation by wage-cutting and reduce employment by long and unfair hours.

Furthermore, the foreigner seldom steals a job from an American. The great majority of foreigners, through their incredible industry and thrift, start a business of their own and hire Americans. A glimpse through the business section of a telephone book will illustrate this strikingly.

MARTHA VINSON.

Your comments are timely. Have a look at FREE WORLD'S *American Opinion Poll in this issue!*

* * *

Tapeworm

We cuss out the vitamin advertising on the radio —but this stuff from the FREE WORLD is not on a much higher plane. It is essentially patent medicine for the intellectuals—"Read our stuff and save democracy. $2.00 a bottle."

Fifty years ago out in the Chagrin valley, east of Cleveland, the Indian Medicine man would come around once a summer and put on a show. He was selling tapeworm eradicator—and a sure cure for everything else. What fascinated me were the mason fruit jars full of great long white tapeworms. Coupled with the song and dance and the Indian chief in regalia, it was a good show.

The current tapeworm for the intelligentsia—so called — is fascism. Get a fancy label — The FREE WORLD—fill up the bottles and put on the show.

How do you define a free world?

Where do we begin?

Detroit, Michigan. ALLEN V. BRETT.

A free world is a world in which all peoples enjoy freedom of speech and religion, freedom from fear and want. There is much to be accomplished before such a world emerges from the ruins of the present one, in which Fascists have murdered millions of men, women and children, used starvation as a method for destroying whole nations, deprived their victims of the right to worship or even to utter a rebuke against their torturers. Your letter comes from a city where—even in free America — fascist rabble-rousers have influenced some weak souls! So let's begin our effort for a free world in Detroit, before the tapeworm grows too large.

* * *

People of Warsaw

From August 1, 1944 to October 2, 1944, the people of Warsaw struggled to free their city from the German occupant. Within 63 days, two consecutive issues of FREE WORLD Magazine can and did appear on the newsstands. At this writing, a third issue, for the month of November, has also been published. We thumbed the pages of these three issues of FREE WORLD, a magazine which had proclaimed its devotion to people's movements all over the world, and, particularly, to the activities of the underground movements of occupied countries, vainly searching for some word on what was going on in Warsaw. We are puzzled by this silence. —From a letter by WIKTER J. EHRENPREIS and HALINA W. MALINOWSKA of the Editorial Board of Poland Fights.

FREE WORLD *has the deepest admiration for the heroic fight of the people of Warsaw, whose courage will remain one of the great pages of this war. We wish we had enough space to cover the many phases of the heroic struggle of the Underground. We published on the Polish Underground relatively more pieces than on any other.*

Free World Readers Reply to Poll

Following are typical excerpts from the many letters received from FREE WORLD readers in reply to this month's poll:

There is no logic to keeping any particular group of people out of this country; if we have enough democracy, the Germans and Japanese can learn something by being able to come here.

Denver, Colo. DR. HARRIOT HUNTER.

* * *

Why not let them all in? They are all brothers. The more variety, the stronger the unity. Our boys are global visitors and may be residents. World intermingling means world peace, in the end.

Fenton, Mich. REV. W. J. DUDGEON.

* * *

There should be *no* barriers to nationals of any country, anywhere. We are fighting a global war but unless a global peace can be accomplished, once again we shall have thrown our honor to the winds. I must add my drop that some day we can be Citizens of One World.

Baltimore, Maryland. OLGA JAMISON BROWN.

* * *

Now, in the air age, boundaries should be mere administrative sections and not barriers. The real wealth of any country is its producers. The more we have the better a country is off. Scientific farming and scientific manufacturing methods will provide untold opportunities for great masses of people. Let a constant stream of immigrants be the stimulus that forces us not to accept stagnation but to forge ahead in the American tradition and mindful that if we had accepted in earlier times such restrictions we would not be the great nation we are today.

New York City. HERBERT VAN KAAN.

* * *

I believe exclusion of foreigners from our country after the war will breed hatred and keep out many who would hope to become good citizens.

Livingston, Mont. J. F. SCHAFER.

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The U.S.A. should take in some Jewish refugees and treat them well. What a fine idea for the U.S.A. to give the world a demonstration of how to treat the Jews well, according to the good American way of life.

West Hartford, Conn. HELEN M. STREETER.

* * *

Foreigners, if they are not dumped into our slums but are guided to the right places and occupations, instead of becoming burdens will become real assets, both as producers and consumers, and promote rather than retard fuller employment of our own people.

Oxford, Ohio. DANIEL LA CRUZ.

* * *

The U.S.A. should not restrict the immigration of any groups because of national or ethnic origin. Intelligence and belief in democratic processes should be the main requirements.

USNR Midshipmen's School, Columbia Univ., N.Y.C. ELWOOD A. WHEATLEY Prtr. 2/c

* * *

I'm in favor of such cooperative organization as will let *other* countries develop so that our "top of the hill" position is not so extreme. Then potential emigrants would find their home lands more inviting, and would remain there.

Highland Park, Mich. ADA CLARA PACKER.

* * *

Our unemployment situation is not due to overpopulation but to inherent weaknesses in our "free enterprise" competitive system. Isn't the American Legion using "the foreigner" as a scapegoat in its efforts to hide the real faults of our economic system?

Holly, Mich. PAUL JOHNSON ALLURED.

* * *

To keep any group out would be isolation with a vengeance.

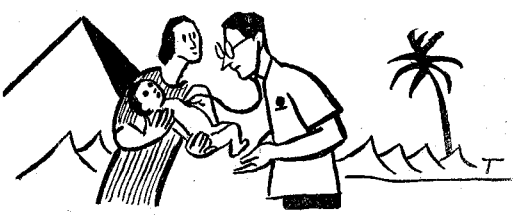
Bemus Point, N. Y. FRANK THOMPSON.

* * *

A free movement of peoples is a prerequisite of a free world.

Centralia, Ill. E. D. MORTON.

* * *



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I am at a loss to understand why the Jews are included in your table of groups. The Jews, as you know, are not an isolated group, or nation: but, as a religious sect, dispersed throughout the world—a part of every nationality.

Whatever the issue of the poll, relative to the Jew, may be, it is doomed to lead to confusion and false conclusions. Let us take for example a French Jew—as a Frenchman he might be allowed to enter this country, and, perhaps, as a Jew he would be denied admittance. It is clear that this confusion of creed and nationality must lead eventually to an embarrassing situation.

Roanoke, Va. STELLA M. LANGFORD.

* * *

As I believe strongly in a world community and have always felt myself to be more a citizen of the world than of one nation, though I love my country, I feel that people of any nationality should be allowed to live anywhere in the world they wish—and that they should be good citizens in that country. Consequently, I would let all people into our country, even if the number had to be limited. If it should be necessary to set a different quota for various countries, the quotas should be decided by some just means so as not to show favoritism to any nation.

I think that if we stop the immigration of any peoples to our country we shall arouse enmity that will interfere with the smooth functioning of a world organization and with the progress of world peace.

Fort Worth, Texas. HELEN BOYD.

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WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

Throughout the civilized world the name of *VISCOUNT CECIL* of Chelwood, now in his eightieth year, is revered by peoples of many races and faiths. His genius went into the drafting of the original Covenant of the League of Nations; his entire lifetime has been devoted to unrelenting service to the cause of peace. For this in 1937 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

Writing to *LORD CECIL* on the occasion of his eightieth birthday on September 14 of this year, Prime Minister Churchill said, "This war could easily have been prevented if the League of Nations had been used with courage and loyalty by the associated nations. Even in 1935 and 1936 there was a chance, by making an armed grand alliance under the aegis of the League to hold in subjection the rising furies in Germany or at the very least to enter into armed conflict on terms far more favorable than those eventually forced upon us." Though the League failed, *LORD CECIL'S* devotion to peace is tireless as revealed by his article in this issue on Dumbarton Oaks. He is optimistic about the new effort.

When war began for China in 1937 *FABIAN CHOW,* then working in Shanghai as a reporter on the English language daily, *China Press,* and as chief Chinese political reporter for the North China *Daily News,* joined the English writing section of the Chinese Ministry of Information. In this position he covered many phases of his country's struggle—from the active fighting on the front lines to the administrative and reconstruction work of the Government in the wartime capital. In 1942 *MR. CHOW* was with the Chinese troops under General Stilwell in Burma when they were forced to retreat into India and more recently he spent several weeks at the Salween front where he followed Chinese troops into the almost inaccessible mountain strongholds which the Japanese had taken two years earlier.

He is now on his way to the United States to cover an assignment. Although he has done the major part of his writing in the English language, this will be the first time he has left his native land to visit another country.

The author of "Stettinius On the Spot" writes: "If you want the truth—*HERBERT COREY* began his journalistic life on the *Bonanza Rustler,* at Bonanza, Wyoming. Life was gay and free in those days. Editor Joe De Barthe sat on a pile of logs with a Winchester for three days, waiting for Lawyer Collins to come out. Mortgage trouble." *MR. COREY* soon left these colorful surroundings to return to his home state of Ohio where he began his activities which gained for him an outstanding reputation in the field of journalism.

In 1916 he was accredited war correspondent for the Associated Newspapers, and served, during the period when the English and French barred the doors to American reporters, with the German Army as correspondent, later saw service with the Austrian, Italian, English and French forces as well as seeing something of the operations of the Turkish, Serbian and Russian establishments. *MR. COREY* continued with the Associated Newspapers until 1930 when he began free lancing in Washington, and for some years he has been contributing to magazines.

"Profiles of Headliners" which starts in this issue with a word portrait of Edward R. Stettinius, new United States Secretary of State, is a feature which will reappear frequently in FREE WORLD. It will present not only men who are in the headlines but men who deserve to be there.

As *MORDECAI EZEKIEL* mentions in "A Physical Plan for a World of Plenty" appearing in this issue, his first article in this series was published in our August number under the title, "Conversion to Peace in Agriculture and Industry." His third and final piece in this group will appear in our February issue. For the past eleven years *MR. EZEKIEL* has been Economic Adviser to the Secretary of Agriculture. The author of numerous books and articles on agricultural and economic topics, he is also a specialist on statistics, and was one of the drafters of the Agricultural Adjustment Act. While Lord Cecil discusses world organization in its political

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and governmental aspects, *EZEKIEL* shows the economic factors important to peace.

NAHUM GOLDMANN, outstanding Zionist, who has just returned from Palestine, reports in this issue his observations of urgently important events that are drawing to a crisis in the Jewish Homeland. Certainly no one is better able to see and appraise. He was the organizer of the first World Jewish Conference in Geneva in 1932. Today he is chairman of the Administrative Committee of the World Jewish Congress. He has served the Zionist cause in many capacities over a long period of years, and was the representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine at the League of Nations in Geneva. *DR. GOLDMANN* was born in Russia in 1894 and received his education in Germany, where he studied at the universities of Heidelberg, Marburg and Berlin.

In 1938 at the invitation of the Canadian Government *JOHN GRIERSON* went to Canada to make a survey of film possibilities. He is now Government Film Commissioner, executive head of the National Film Board and was for a year the general manager of the Wartime Information Board. Born and educated in Scotland he served in the Royal Navy in the last war from 1915 to 1919. After spending several years in the United States he returned to England, where he made the first British documentary film, "Drifter." From 1930 to 1938 he was responsible for the production of a long list of documentaries on social problems in Britain and the Commonwealth.

PHILIP M. KAISER has for ten years been a close student of international affairs. Born in New York City in 1913 he attended the University of Wisconsin where he was graduated Phi Beta Kappa. From 1936-1939 he studied at Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar, and during this time traveled extensively throughout Europe, with long stays and study in France and Italy.

Peace and wartime labor problems have been the special concern of *FRANK E. KENT,* the co-author with Max Mandellaub of "Our Berlin Allies." Graduated from Northwestern University he carried on further research and studies in national and international problems at Northwestern and American universities.

MAX MANDELLAUB before coming to this country from Switzerland in 1941 was a volunteer in the French Army, serving with a company attached to the British Expeditionary Forces in France. Captured by the Germans and placed in a concentration camp after the fall of France, he later managed to escape to Switzerland where he continued his studies of international law and economics, publishing his PH.D. dissertation, "Citizenship in Nazi Germany," while in Geneva.

The poem "The Leaders," was written by *JOSEPH JOEL KEITH,* a regular contributor to FREE WORLD pages.

A Californian by birth, he is the editor of the fortnightly prose department, World Citizen, in the Beverly Hills *Script,* and as secretary of "Interdependence" is active in furthering the work of this newly incorporated California organization which aims at promoting human tolerance. *MR. KEITH* is the author of two volumes of verse, *The Long Nights* and *The Proud People,* and is now planning a third book, a novel based on racial prejudice.

Since 1922 *JAN PAPANEK,* Minister Plenipotentiary of Czechoslovakia, has been in the diplomatic service of his country, filling various important posts in Budapest, Hungary, in Washington and in Pittsburgh. For the past two years he has been director of the Czechoslovak Information Service in New York. A native of Brezova, Slovakia, he received his education at the University of Prague, and in Paris at L'Ecole des Sciences Politiques and L'Institut des Hautes Etudes Internationales.

The stirring poem, "Liberation," appearing in this issue was written by one of the youngest writers ever to contribute to FREE WORLD pages. *A. STANLEY MENDELSON,* the author of the verse, was born in Chicago in 1921 and was educated in that city at the Central YMCA College, receiving his B.S. degree in chemistry in June of 1943.

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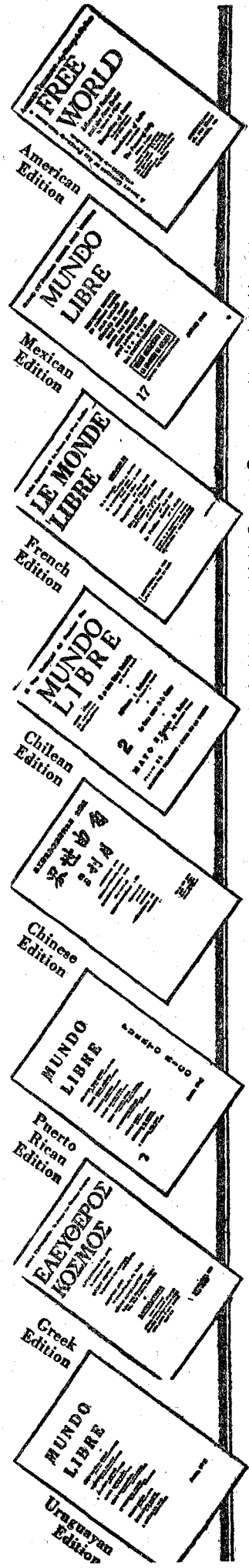

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New Year 1945

Men of many nations, races and creeds are fighting and dying all over the globe so that those they care about may live in a world where there is enduring peace and freedom.

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EDITORIALS

The Anti-Resistance Policy and the Franco-Soviet Pact

FEW people any longer doubt that the policy followed by the Greek Premier Papandreou and by the British Government in Greece was a tragic blunder from every point of view. Had Mr. Papandreou stepped aside in favor of a Greek leader more acceptable to the various sections of the country, such as Mr. Themistocles Sofoulis or General Plastiras, then the political situation in Greece would have been stabilized along somewhat similar lines to the successful French experiment.

But the reactionary Greek elements, many of whom belong to the former dictatorship clique of General Metaxas, knowing that they could count on British help, had decided to make of the existing political difficulties a test case between themselves and the Greek Resistance Movement. This is understandable, but what still remains incomprehensible is that men of the political caliber of Churchill and Eden, who have so many times proved themselves able in other circumstances to settle complicated political situations, should have championed the unpopular Greek Government.

Of course, if the situation in Greece were as simple as Mr. Churchill presented it in his speech to the House, namely, one minority party attempting to overthrow the constitutional democratic government of the country, then his action could be understood. But neither of the two premises existed in Greece. The EAM did not attempt to seize the power in Greece and, furthermore, it represents eight resistance organizations instead of one. Secondly, the government of Mr. Papandreou is no more a constitutional democratic government than would have been the one established by a minority party if it had attempted to and succeeded in seizing power. What the EAM fought against was the handing over of the control of its armies to the old Metaxas forces.

Naturally, the enemies of international cooperation and of Great Britain are trying to make great capital out of the Greek situation. The task of the democratic forces, in the opinion of this writer, is to defeat these attempts and to fight for the establishment of a Greek coalition government which would represent all democratic forces of that country.

The principles of such a policy are contained in the letter of October 19, addressed by the President to Mr. Vlavianos, Editor of the Greek FREE WORLD: "It is the further desire of our government that the Greek people who have fought so valiantly for democratic ideals will be able to exercise, as soon as possible, the right of all democratic people and choose freely for themselves the form of government under which they will live."

The unhappy situation in Greece is counterbalanced by the signing of the Franco-Soviet pact, which completes a European security system within the world organization. But we know from past experience that regional agreements alone will not provide maximum security. Therefore a general conference of all the United Nations is of utmost urgency to complete the task begun at Dumbarton Oaks.

LOUIS DOLIVET

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G.I. Bill of Rights

OUR fighting men are the best-trained and best-equipped on earth. We spent a lot of money teaching them to fight, teaching them to kill and destroy. It cost a lot of money to give them tools to do these terrible and necessary things. These men so carefully instructed, so expensively caparisoned for the business of killing and dying surely deserve as much schooling again in the trades and skills of civilization, as much equipment for the occupations of peace. No expense was spared in fitting them for all the difficult and dirty jobs they're doing now so wonderfully well. No limit must be put on what we spend to brief and outfit them for their important missions here at home, postwar.

Our servicemen want decent work and decent wages when they come back home. They take it for granted that we're fixing things that way for them. They won't settle this time for a soup kitchen or a bread line. They won't wait patiently for a chance to hear "there isn't any work today." These men won't wait in line. They've had to stand in line for years now. They've had to stand in line and wait. Ask anybody in the service. That's what the war seems like mostly—standing in line. Of course, it's different when there's action. If a man is hurt—well, go out to the soldiers' hospitals and see for yourself the veterans of the last war, waiting in beds, row on row, year after year. And if a man is killed—go out to the soldiers' cemeteries, and look at all those crosses marking all those graves, waiting for judgment day in perfect formation—standing in line.

There isn't much we can be sure of in this world, but we can bank on it that the men who live through this particular hell, who live and come back home—those men aren't going to wait for anything. They want to get to work; they want to catch up on lost time; they want to raise families and they want enough money to do it and enough leisure to enjoy it. That's what they're looking forward to. Things won't be very pleasant in these parts if they don't get it. I don't mean they'll make trouble. If there's going to be any trouble, we're starting it now.

A certain sort of pipsqueak intellectual has been claiming lately that the serviceman is a potential danger to security, that when the soldier comes home, he may turn into a Fascist. Of all the lies that have been told since Munich, that lie is the lowest. It's true our fighting men don't relish lectures and sermons on the meaning of the war. It's true they do a lot of griping, but they do a lot of fighting, too—more of that than anything. They know whom they're fighting. They know what it's all about.

Fascism in America? Healthy people get sick, good governments go bad. We can't be sure of ours. We haven't the right to be sure of anything as good and beautiful as freedom. We can't be certain that there won't be fascism in America when the war is over, but we can be very certain that if it does come, our fighting men won't start it. They've been too busy killing Fascists. All they want is jobs. Wait a minute, that's not all. They want schooling. They want better jobs, and they want to learn how to fill them.

That sounds reasonable. There aren't many men who've dared to say out loud that we should spend less money on this war. You can throw a man in jail for that sort of thing. But already there've been plenty of greedy people who've said out loud that we must economize on the peace.

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What are the GI's asking for? Not what they've got coming to them. They know they won't get it. Every man who's spent a night in a foxhole deserves to be retired on a banker's pension. But our fighting men know that it can't be that way, and all they ask is a decent chance. If they don't get that chance, our worst fears will come true—we'll never see them again, not the boys we said goodbye to. Our brothers and sons won't acknowledge their families, and we won't be able to look them in the eye. They'll hate us, and we'll deserve it. They'll call us traitors and they'll be right.

FREE WORLD wired General Hines' office for the latest figures. Here's what we got:

> WORLD WAR II ESTIMATED DISCHARGES ARMED FORCES APPROXIMATELY ONE AND A HALF MILLION. RECEIVING EDUCATION OR TRAINING, 13,289 OCT. 31st. DIVIDED 11,187 IN SCHOOL AND 2,102 IN GOOD JOB TRAINING. NUMBER IN HOSPITALS 15,822 AND IN HOMES 233, OCT. 31st. OTHER INFORMATION NOT AVAILABLE.

Well, that leaves 1,470,656 unaccounted for.

And how about the millions who haven't come back yet? Are we ready for them?

"Oh, yes," somebody says, "we've got the GI Bill of Rights."

Well, what about it? It has a nice comforting sound, anyway, the GI Bill of Rights, as though it settled everything, solved all the problems.

The truth is that the Servicemen's Readjustment Act (that's the official name for it) is like Dumbarton Oaks. It's another one of those good beginnings. That's absolutely all. So much horse trading went into getting that bill passed, so much compromising, amending, re-amending, general monkeying around, that the Veterans' Administration lawyers have yet to determine the exact meaning of the various provisions.

It's generally assumed, for instance, that the GI Bill of Rights makes it possible for an honorably discharged veteran to get a $2,000 loan for the purchase of a home or a farm or a small business. But those who've studied the law, and veterans who've tried to get a loan, know this simply isn't so.

Thousands of veterans applied for loans right after the Bill was passed. Loans they needed. They couldn't get those loans because the banks didn't receive the necessary forms from the Veterans' Administration. Not until late in October were forms available for home loans, and up to now, there aren't any forms at all for farm or business loans. And even when veterans manage to get the right forms to fill out, they discover they may not get the loans anyway. You see, the Government underwrites only half of the loan with a maximum guarantee of two thousand dollars, and when veterans can't furnish collateral for the 50 per cent of the loan that's not guaranteed, or can't provide endorsers satisfactory to the bank, they're just out of luck. You can thank a nice little lobby—the loan companies' lobby, the money lenders, for that part of the veterans' troubles.

And education? What about that? Well, several colleges have already accepted veterans under the Educational provisions of the Bill. The Veterans' Administration, however, is very slow to pay those schools and colleges. Luckily this doesn't seem to be keeping any of the schools from

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cooperating with the program—up until now, anyway. But the present cost of living doesn't make the subsistence allowance—fifty dollars for a single student, seventy-five for one with dependents—look very generous.

There's an unemployment measure in the Bill providing an allowance of twenty dollars a week for unemployment for from twenty-four to fifty-two weeks any time in two years. But a veteran isn't qualified for this if he leaves suitable employment voluntarily, if he's fired for misconduct, or if he fails to accept suitable work offered by the United States Employment Service, or—look out for this one, it's a great big juicy anti-labor clause—if work stoppage is due to labor disputes, unless the veteran is not participating or interested in the dispute.

Altogether the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 is only a fair stopgap. The veteran has more rights coming to him than are provided in that Bill.

What are those rights?

His employer must be obligated to give him his old job back. Not within thirty days or sixty days after his return, but within at least six months. Giving him that job must not displace a civilian worker, man or woman, who's helped to win the war on the home front. If we mobilize now for peace, there won't be a manpower surplus. But if there is a surplus during the years of reconversion or readjustment, that surplus must be taken care of by a cut in working hours or an additional shift.

In the army, a soldier can't be fired for any reason but disability. He shouldn't be fired by his civilian employer unless he's physically unfit.

If he doesn't want his old job back, if he wants a better one, the returning serviceman must have the full cooperation of the Federal Government and of his state in training and education for the work he's chosen. And he deserves a man's pay during training so he can house and feed himself as decently as he was housed and fed while he was trained to do his job of war.

If a GI has dependents he has the right to ask that payments to those dependents be continued until he can shoulder the burden from his own earnings.

All rights must be shared equally by disabled veterans, and those in need of rehabilitation must deserve more considerations than are guaranteed or even indicated in the present so-called GI Bill of Rights.

The discharged serviceman should be able to continue his war life insurance policy, and to participate in the full benefits of unemployment insurance. His mustering out pay should be equal to the pay he received during the last three months of his service, plus fair personal maintenance pay until he has had a full opportunity to readjust himself.

These are the Rights I think a new GI Bill must secure. And finally, I believe that discharged members of the Merchant Marine and of the U. S. Coast Guard have all these same things coming to them. It's almost two months now since we voted for the 79th Congress. Not one of the members of this new Congress was elected who didn't campaign with promises for fair and just legislation for returning servicemen and women. I say to the 79th Congress, "Remember your promises." A new year is beginning. We dare not allow 1945 to begin an era of charity. We owe debts. Let's pay them up. Faith and Hope must abide, but Charity shall have no part in this New Year.

ORSON WELLES

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Dumbarton Oaks Excels the League

By

VISCOUNT CECIL

THE idea underlying the Covenant of the League of Nations was that there should be provision for delay, in which there would be an examination of any dispute which was leading up to war, and during which time both parties should abstain from hostile action.

The Covenant nowhere specifically forbids war in all circumstances. What it does say is that there must not be war until everything else has been tried to settle any dispute "likely to lead to a rupture." That was the fundamental conception underlying the Covenant.

Under the plan proposed at Dumbarton Oaks, one of the chief organs of the new League is to be a body called the Security Council, and, by one of the articles of the Dumbarton Oaks Draft, the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace is to rest on this body. That is a new idea; though in composition the Security Council is almost the same as the Council under the League. It provides for eleven members, of which five are to be permanent members, representing the four main belligerents, and France; and six are to be elected by the rest of the members of the organization, and they are only to hold office for two years and then be changed.

One of the framers of the original League of Nations Covenant, and referred to throughout the world as the "father of the League," Viscount Cecil, perhaps more than any man alive, is competent to discuss the achievements—or failures—of Dumbarton Oaks. The fact that he finds the new plan for world organization superior in various important respects to the old, should be cause for encouragement to all who hope for lasting world peace.

The other main body, which is called, as it was in the League, the Assembly, consists of representatives of all of the members of the association, each of them having one vote and no more than one vote. In these respects there is no change from the League.

In regard to the functions of those two bodies, the function of the Security Council is to examine and prepare for any aggression by anybody, to take into consideration any circumstances which may lead to aggression, and, if it be so desired, to declare that aggression is threatened or has actually taken place.

All that is absolutely under the control of the Security Council and there is nothing else that it has to do. It may, and I think it probably will, find that it will have to consider things which may lead up to aggression which have very little immediate connection with aggression itself. But primarily and essentially it is its business to prevent aggression, and, in order to discharge that duty, a number of powers are confided to it.

The first of these is to arrange for negotiation and arbitration of any dispute or the consideration of any situation which may arise threatening aggression. Further, the Security Council is given the express power

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of calling on the members of the new organization to provide an armed force, if armed force should become necessary. The actual words of the draft are that they "will make available to the Security Council, in accordance with agreement among themselves, armed forces necessary to maintain international peace." Still further, it is given the power of considering all questions of the regulation of this international force, or, indeed, of national forces.

Council's Other Powers

THESE are the main powers the Security Council is given, but it has also several ancillary powers. It is to have a Military Staff Committee, which is to consist of the great experts on military affairs who may be available to give all necessary advice as to the preparation of force to stop aggression and as to any of the military questions that may arise in that connection.

Then there is a provision which is a little mysterious to me. It says: "The Council is to function continuously." I do not quite understand that but I think what it means is this: there is another provision which says that there is to be a representative of each of the countries on the Council at the seat of the organization, wherever that may be, and I think what is meant is that these representatives are to be able to meet at any time, so as to constitute the Council and take action as the Council, though it is expressly provided that, for special occasions, Ministers may be sent from the different countries to take part in those proceedings. I will not say anything in criticism of that proposal at the moment, but it will have to be rather carefully watched, so that it does not develop into a mere diplomatic committee, maintained in a distant country. It will have very little authority, I am afraid, if it is only that, and in any case I hope the power to send Ministers will not be forgotten, because I am quite certain that, if you want to have an authoritative body, you must have it composed of those Ministers who have the power to influence the policy and the strength of their country.

There is another provision which seems to me to be of great value. There is to be an international Secretariat on the same lines as the international Secretariat of the League of Nations, with a chief officer, the Secretary-General. He is to have the same powers as in the League and he is to have one other power of great importance. He is to have the right to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten international peace and security. In practice, that may be one of the most important provisions in this scheme. It is very embarrassing for the representative of one country to say that another country is preparing war. When such a thing is said in an international organization it leads to a violent explosion of wrath on the part of the country accused. It is therefore better that an official should take this step, who has little to fear from international wrath.

So much for the Council. As for the Assembly, there is little to distinguish it from the old Assembly of the League. It is to have power to make recommendations on any subject of international importance. It is to have the power to appoint committees and officials to help it, exactly as the League had. It is not given powers to decide things, but, except in one particular, the League Assembly never had and could not have the power to decide anything. What it could do was to make recommendations as to what decisions should be taken. The decisions were ultimately left to the countries themselves. There is, indeed, no other means of action for an international body.

Then there is to be another body called the Economic and Social Council, which will have the power of dealing with questions of economic and social importance and of coordinating the work of committees on any of those subjects. But it will have to report to the Assembly, which will be the final body when dealing with any subject of international importance, except only in matters of security. Even there, when the matter is at large, the Assembly is empowered to make recommendations on questions connected with security. But if the Council has taken up any particular question of security, the Assembly is not to deal with that but must leave it to the Council.

Ultimately, however, the Council reports to the Assembly, so that even in that matter there is a control over what the Council

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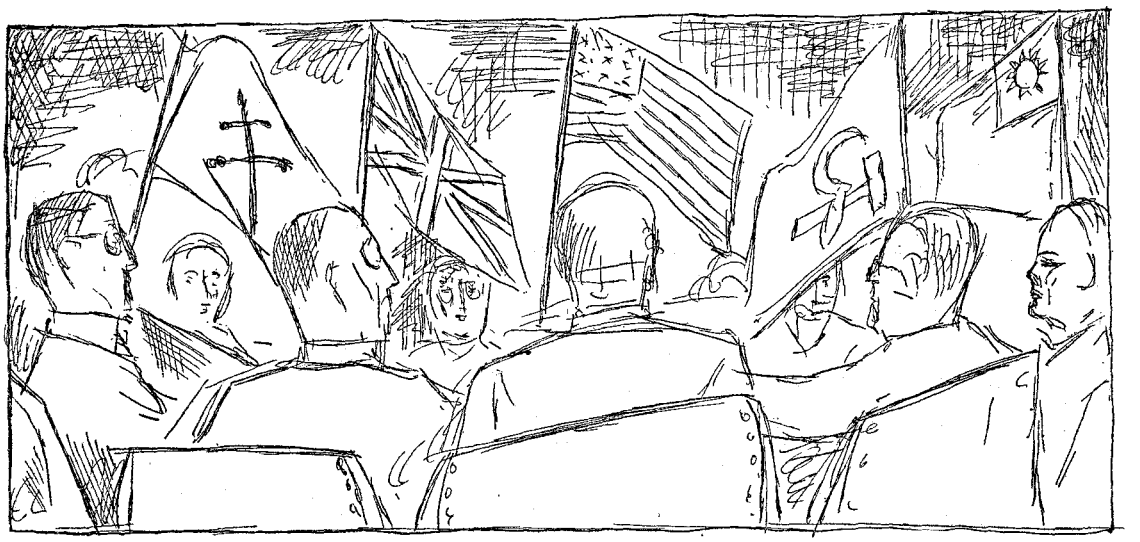

may do. The Assembly also has another control. The budget is to be decided entirely by the Assembly. Therefore, the members of the Assembly will have the right to require information as to any particular expenditure which is to be authorized by the budget. That power has led to the growth of the immense authority of the House of Commons in the United Kingdom.

That is all I need say about the general scope of this scheme. There are a great many other details which will have to be dealt with. I am not clear as to what is going to happen about mandates; or whether there is to be any provision for minorities, and so on. Then there is the name of the Organization. It is called in general THE UNITED NATIONS. That may be intended to be the final decision as to its name, but I have some doubts whether that is the best name which could be devised.

I remember when we were discussing these matters in Paris thirty years ago, we thought it very important not to have anything which had a direct relation to the war in the title or in any of the provisions of the Covenant. The United Nations has become the regular phrase describing the organization, the alliance, of the enemies of the Axis. I think it is a little doubtful whether it is desirable to make the name of the organization for world peace the same as that of the organization built to wage war.

The real question which everybody wants to have settled is, will this scheme work? Will it prevent war? I can only say that that depends on what support it gets from public opinion. I think it is a thing of which we can never sufficiently often remind ourselves, that an international organ can never operate in the same way as a national organ.

Cannot Give Orders

OUR executive government depends upon the fact that ultimately it has command of all the resources of the country, moral and material. Any decision made by the government in power can be enforced, if any single citizen, or group of citizens, tries to resist it. But with an international body that is not so. It cannot give orders. It can agree that something ought to be done, such as that resistance to aggression shall be enforced by the strength of the bodies which compose it. But in the end it is the countries that compose it which will provide the force. Therefore it is the more important that a body of this kind should have the support of public opinion.

This does not mean that public opinion alone will do the work. Public opinion must be the force behind the force which you are going to use. I think one can see that very clearly from the history of the League itself. Our Prime Minister told us the other day, in a very impressive phrase, that the League "could easily have prevented this war if it had received proper support from the countries which composed it." That is the point. The countries which composed it were not prepared, in

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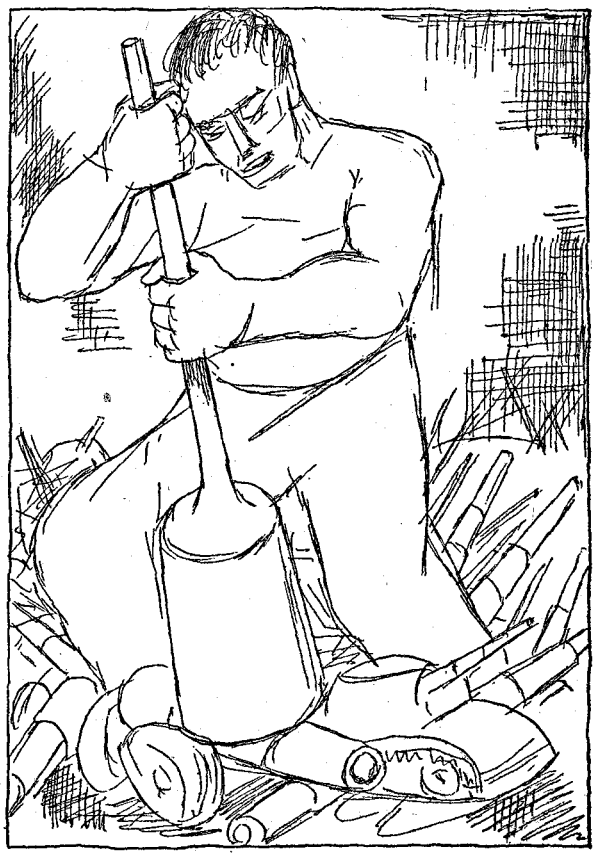
the last resort, to give it the support necessary in order to prevent war. Thus it failed, or rather, it was never asked to succeed.

And let us be clear which were the Powers which would not use the League. It was the Great Powers, not the Small Powers. The Small Powers are very often most unfairly attacked and abused, but, to my knowledge, right through the history of the League, they were always anxious, and, indeed, naturally anxious, that it should be used to the fullest extent to prevent war, because they knew how frightfully they would suffer by war, and frightfully they have suffered.

It was the Great Powers, when it came to the point, who were not prepared to use their immense strength, without which no action could be taken, and so the League was not used. At Dumbarton Oaks the members of the Conference evidently had that fact very clearly in their minds and they therefore provided that the burden of responsibility for checking aggression should be laid squarely upon the shoulders of the Great Powers. That is the essence of this scheme.



I quoted just now the phrase which says that the Security Council is to have the primary responsibility for Peace, and it is on the Security Council that the Great Powers have weight. Five of them are permanent members. There are only six others and they are not permanent members and as such less influential, so that, to a very large extent, the Security Council must be controlled by any view taken by the Five Powers.

Veto Power

IT has been freely stated in the Press that in certain quarters this was not regarded as going far enough. Those who took that view were anxious to make it a special provision that no coercive action should be taken by the Security Council unless the Five Powers were unanimously in favor of it. That is going rather too far, because it means that any of the Five Powers has the right of veto on any coercive proposal put forward. If it is proposed to coerce a friend of one of the Five Powers and that Power vetoes the proposal, one can easily imagine that there might be considerable objection.

It is further alleged that some quarters wished to go further still and say that, even if one of the Great Powers was itself accused of aggression, yet no coercive action could be taken by the organization without the unanimous consent of the Five Powers, which means that, if one of them is the aggressor, no action can be taken. I can only say that I do not think that it would be very easy to recommend such a provision to public opinion, quite apart from the way in which it would actually work.

Very often things work better than they appear to be likely to work on paper. I admit that and rejoice in it, but if you are going to get adequate support from the ordinary man and the ordinary woman in the street, I think you must have something which not only may work but also seems quite fair and just in itself. I cannot feel myself that this proposal would be just and fair in itself and I hope it will be very carefully considered before it is accepted.

As for the actual rules of voting and the manner in which the Security Council may reach decisions, I suggest that there is some-

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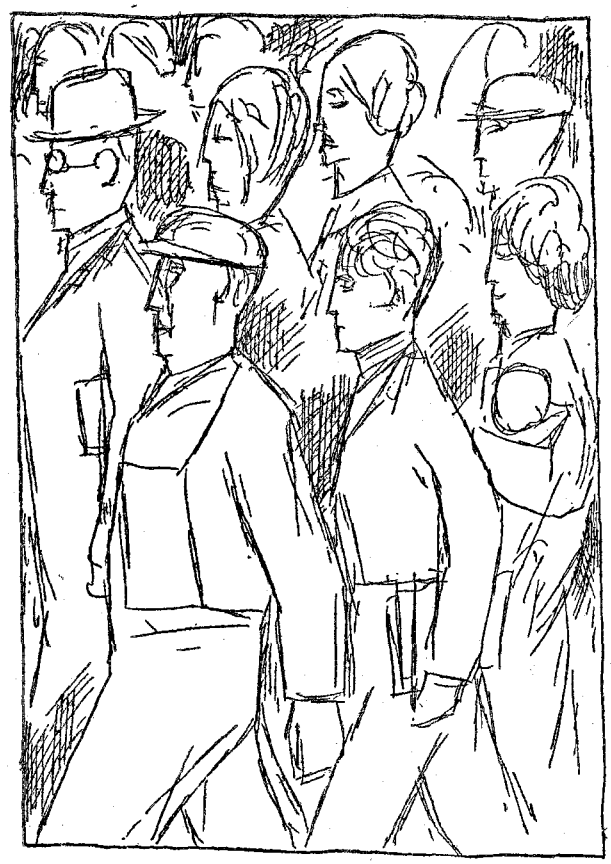
thing to be said for the plan which prevailed in the League. I remember very well that we were up against the same type of difficulty in Paris. We wanted to have an efficient body, but recognized that it would be very difficult to induce countries to accept a provision which required them to send armies, against the view of their own representatives in the League, to fight in a battle in which they were not convinced their participation was right.

The device adopted merits careful consideration. It was laid down very precisely that it was the duty of every State Member of the League to suppress aggression wherever it took place or was threatened. That was to be an absolute duty. The only question left to the individual Power was to decide whether the case was one in which aggression was threatened or had taken place. I do not believe that is a difficult decision to arrive at. In my experience of these matters, it was always perfectly clear which country was the aggressor and there was never any difficulty deciding when aggression had taken place or was threatened. A similar device in the new League might be a way out of this type of difficulty.

Public Support Vital

I HESITATE to say again, but it is so important I must repeat it, that the success or failure of this scheme entirely depends upon the support it gets from the public opinion of the world. There is one omission from the Dumbarton Oaks Draft, which I hope is only an accidental omission, which greatly bears on that. Evidently, if you are to have public opinion behind you, you must inform public opinion of what the dispute is about and what you want the members of the association to do. Therefore, there must be publicity. There is nothing about publicity in the Dumbarton Oaks scheme, but I imagine it would be provided for in some way.

Not only publicity. We must go further that that. We have got to make up our minds that this scheme for international organization to preserve peace is an absolutely vital matter for every one of us, for every country and for every individual. We cannot afford to have, at intervals of twenty or thirty years, such a war as we



are just concluding. If we do, it means the destruction of everything we hold dear.

Therefore, this time we must make our peace plan succeed. We must get public opinion into such a position that, whenever a call is made upon it, in any country, it will respond and be ready to take action, with force if necessary, in order to suppress aggression before it has become formidable. That means that education of the people, as well as mere publicity. This must not only be accomplished by private organizations, it must be done by the Governments. Every Government has under its control, an immense system of publicity. It has representatives in every quarter of the world, men whose business it is to watch the condition and tendency of public opinion. Through them, Governments can do much to influence world opinion on any subject.

In conclusion, I desire to say that, while I think it is right to criticize in certain details the proposals made at Dumbarton Oaks, I do believe that, looking at it broadly, it is a good scheme, a scheme which, if properly worked can maintain peace. The whole question is: will it be properly worked? That depends, I repeat, on public opinion.

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WE THE LEADERS

Never unconcerned, we feel
sweat of Welshmen in the pit,
ghetto Jews in many lands,
slaving Balkan peasants' bit,
coolie labor building strong
China's roads, and every young
hungry child born everywhere,
of our blood though not our tongue.

We, of these United States,
welcome all who are alone.
The paradox is that we shut
our strong doors upon our own.
We, who call ourselves the free,
hotly lash the poorer back:
prejudicial blows are struck
often when a skin is black.

We the leaders cannot stand
mute when every gun is stilled.
We have learned the Balkan's loss
is much more than peasants killed.
We, the fed, and we, the straight,
dare not evermore deny
common men our hand and mind,
or live the democratic lie!

JOSEPH JOEL KEITH

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Profiles of Headliners:

Stettinius On The Spot

By

HERBERT COREY

ED STETTINIUS has never been afraid of anything or anybody. If he had to do it he could bat the ears off a dockwalloper. Were his fearlessness due to the fact that he has had so much money all of his life, that would indeed be very bad. But fortunately he thinks of himself as a trustee who is in honor bound to do what he can with his money. His father was one of the House of Morgan. Young Stettinius early grew accustomed to the sight of important bankers and industrialists saying "Yes, sir." When he sat down as a member with the Board of Big Steel no chills ran up his back. Later he was to meet dukes and generals and prime ministers on the same easy terms.

That courage if it can remain at a higher level than the "Morgan complex" is a fine thing for an American Secretary of State to possess. It puts him on good terms with the rest of us. We have followed pussyfooters when nothing better was offered, and we have allowed the pussyfooters to have their own way because we had not been interested, and because it was hard to make out just what they were saying in their funny language. But pussyfooting is not hereditary with us. Grover Cleveland is the favorite president with men who have no idea what he did to make him great. Only they knew he had guts. He slapped the British Lion around when the slapping seemed salutary. That is always a good act with us. American sportsmanship will also make us ready to take the slap whenever we are the ones who deserve it.

Now that Ed Stettinius – Washington has agreed to waive his millions; we like him; we speak of him as Ed – has been made Secretary of State that courage rings the bell with a good many Americans. He told Churchill and Eden just what he thought of their kingmaking activities in Italy and Greece. In short words. It must be that one of the first things he did when he succeeded to Hull was to get rid of the ready letter writers in the State Department. For a generation our diplomatic letters have been written in so fine a Spencerian script that in admiring the curlicues the reader overlooks the meaning. I would like to submit a specimen of these lovely old formalities to the Quiz Kids. I've money to bet they would be stumped. Stettinius used words that were so readily comprehended that the *Manchester Guardian* said they were rude.

But they brought into the open the suspicion that has been squirming around our feet for months past that some skulduggeries were being practiced while the fighting is going on in Europe.

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Maybe they put him on a spot. Time will tell.

Along with his courage the Secretary of State has a liking for people. In face of the evidence he thinks there is a great deal of good in the common man. When he was in top rank in Big Steel he did all that he could to make life easier for the working man. His first appearance in a public capacity was as a student in the University of Virginia. Hell-raising was regarded as *très chic* on the Virginia campus at that time, and this Yankee son of riches did not smoke or drink or swear and gave much of his spare time to running a self-help office for poor students and teaching a Sunday School class and doing missionary work in summertime among the hillbillies.

But there was something about the lad. The other students liked him, in defiance of logic and their prejudices.

No man ever lied to Ed Stettinius or tried to cheat him and was ever again invited to visit his office, so far as the record shows. He is something of an idealist, something of a sentimentalist, a topnotch administrator, and a big, hearty, fearless man who honestly wants to do good.

An admirable combination. A difficult combination for a Secretary of State. For he must deal with politicians and diplomats and the plans of other nations and their policies and prejudices.

In the meantime, so far as can be discovered in Washington the young fellow has made good with the public.

None of us knows what the final pay-off will be. Or when.

The policy itself was that of the President. He has always been his own Secretary of State — as has every other President — although the cautious Hull tempered some of his policies. This is an excellent arrangement. If the policy pleases, the President gets the credit and if it fails the public is apt to think that the Secretary laid the egg. In this case it is certain that the President initialed the draft of that socko statement to the world, but it seems equally certain that the words were those of Stettinius. His sympathies have unquestionably been with the little men who have been scourged during the war. On the authority of those who know him he would resent any attempt to turn whatever gains there may be over to the men who made a mess of things before the war. He is a firm believer in democracy and in the right of a people to name their own officers and plot their own courses, even at the risk of giving offense to outsiders. The conclusion here is that if he makes good his position he has set foot on a march that may make him great.

Only—

"Yo' made yo' brag," said the man from Down South. "Now what you aim to do about it?"

RIGHT now there are problems of foreign policy more complex than at any previous time in American history. The great task is to work out some scheme that will really work. That will really get rid of the kings the little countries do not want, and restore law and order to them, and ensure to them the right to name their own rulers in their own way, and which will demonstrate conclusively that the Big Three really possess the unselfish and noble purposes of which we spoke in the Atlantic Charter and in millions of fancy speeches based on the Charter.

If Stettinius does that his place in history will be assured. For if he is able to do that he is able to go on to other great achievements. If there should be a Republican administration four years from now he could step into the new Cabinet and be welcome, for he is a Republican and always has been and has only been a New Dealer in the sense that he has upheld the good parts of the New Deal program. Most of those in Washington who know him hope that he will succeed. Not only is he well liked, but his program holds hope for all the world, and it would be an All-American play that would appeal to most of us. Those who crab about our return to a colonial status would be properly rebuked.

The best card in his hand is that he is not afraid. Not of anything. He is not belligerent or bossy. He is always willing to listen to the other fellow's case. He carries this spirit of fair play so far that some people—this writer is not one of them—say that he is sometimes pliable. He knew all the facts of the world situation before he wrote that note about Britain in Italy. He knows the British and is fond of them. He knows the Russians, too, and likes them as

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well as they permit themselves to be liked. He believes that most misunderstandings in this world can be evaded if all hands put it on the line. He may be mistaken but he meant every word he said. And he is not afraid.

John Lee Pratt, alumnus of Virginia U., and vice president of General Motors, discovered the youngster at his social services in college. With the aid of the elder Stettinius, Pratt talked the boy out of his "call" to the ministry and persuaded him he could do more good to his fellow men if he went into industry. He began by pushing a wheel barrow in the works of the Hyatt Roller Bearing company.

There is a muscle and brains tradition in the steel business. When he was 37 years old Steel made him chairman of the Board. Under the N R A in the days of the Blue Eagle he acted as liaison officer with industry. When war prosperity and war planning began in Washington he was called in to serve as chairman of the War Resources Board (1939), on the National Defense Advisory Committee (1940), as director of the priorities division of the Office of Production Management (1941), and as Lend-Lease administrator in the same year. Before entering the government service he had turned over his stocks and bonds to a holding company and divested himself of all managerial responsibilities.

His father had been purchasing agent for the Allies in the first war and handled $3,000,000,000 of goods for them. Before his first year as Lend-Lease administrator had ended the son had turned over more than $15,000,000,000 in goods to the Allies, some of which were paid for, some promised for, and some of which have in effect been written off. Russia doubted him at first. He was too young—only 43 years old. Britain looked on him as friendly and perhaps malleable. He proved to be friendly and cooperative but not a pushover.

Congress looked on him as the son of a rich man, a Wall Streeter, at least shaded with idealism and impracticality, and was at first inclined to be cantankerous. He spent something like 45 days on the Hill, and answered all questions with such courtesy and candor that he is today one of Congress's best friends. When he was appointed Secretary of State—age 44, and the youngest Secretary on record—he was called before the Senate committee to be examined as to his qualifications. After a brief wait he was called in.

"You may stand there, young man," said the chairman.

He was a bit abashed. It looked as though he were to be needled. The committeemen grinned. The chairman said:

"Sit down, Mr. Stettinius. You've been confirmed."

No one doubted that he would replace Hull if that fine old gentleman were driven by years and illness to resign his post. Hull was finally obliged to go to a hospital. He was warned that his stay might be indefinite. Stettinius urged him to hold on, promising every possible aid. He handled the Dumbarton Oaks conference excellently, even if the end product of that meeting did not prove to be entirely satisfactory to many people. During the conference he was compelled to be elusive about the things that were done and planned. This was certainly not by his will, for he has always been candid, so far as candor is possible in an oathbound and liplocked environment, and shortly after the close, the State Department at his order, issued a full statement with explanatory notes. Then Hull was compelled to give up and Stettinius became the youngest Secretary of State to hold that exalted post.

He began his housecleaning.

"More is to come."

Statistics

BORN in Chicago in 1885. Uses telephone to save time and letters. Regarded as the fastest operator in Washington. Puts things through while others are standing up to shake the wrinkles out of their pants. Owns a lovely pre-revolutionary farm in Virginia. Does not get to see it as frequently as he wishes. Manages to see many people, get their business done, and still avoid the appearance of haste. Betters six feet and 200 pounds, is tanned, blue-eyed, has remarkably big white teeth, a stout jaw. Lives at the Shoreham in Washington with his charming wife and his three children if and when they are at home. Is genuinely friendly and sincere.

And isn't afraid.

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Free World's American Opinion Poll

A major symptom of reactionary propaganda in almost any country is to be found in the shouts against immigration and the effort to impress on public opinion the notion that immigration is responsible for unemployment. Usually such propaganda appears at moments of crisis or tension, or during wars. In the United States at present roughly a dozen Bills with the objective of barring all immigration have been dropped into the hopper of the Senate or the House of Representatives.

While many foreign nations watch with concern to see whether the door of these United States will slam in their face, important pressures are being placed upon the Congress. The American Legion at its recent Convention passed a resolution urging that all immigrants be barred until the number of postwar unemployed falls below the 1,000,000 mark. Labor experts have pointed out that a normal labor market always includes about a million "unemployables." Yet the Veterans of Foreign Wars recently also voted to exclude all immigrants for a ten-year postwar period.

What are the facts? . . . Certainly foreign groups have made an enormous contribution to our national life. It was they who built our transcontinental railroads, went down into our mines, manned our industries, brought us their skills in the arts, sciences and invention, helping make us the most productive nation in the world.

Is our expansionist period over? Some Americans fear it is, and think we will have a hard time supporting our own people after this war. Others believe we have barely begun to tap our resources; that our still sparsely settled territory can support many times its present population, with consequent increase in domestic markets and in prosperity.

Under such circumstances a democracy has no moral right to close its borders, simply because the uninformed are appealing to narrow nationalist feeling as a means of obscuring the issue.

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THIS MONTH'S POLL

IN order to get a broad cross section of American opinion on this vital topic of postwar immigration FREE WORLD in co-operation with the National Opinion Research Center, University of Denver, submitted the question to men and women in all parts of the United States. The question as submitted is given here; a tabulation of the replies has been made below. The conclusions would seem to indicate that America has a wholesome confidence in its own future, that the major portion of Americans are not too swayed by prejudice but believe that our record as a democratic nation is something that must be preserved.

The Question

Here is a list of different groups of people. Do you think we should let a *certain* number of each of these groups come to the United States to live after the war, or do you think we should stop some of the groups from coming *at all?*

Germans	Swedes	Mexicans
Japanese	English	Chinese
Jews		Russians

The Answers:

GERMANS 36% of those interviewed favored letting them in; 59% said stop them; 5% said they didn't know.

JAPANESE 20% favored letting them in; 75% said stop them; 5% didn't know.

JEWS 46% favored letting them in; 46% said stop them; 8% had no opinion.

SWEDES 62% said let them in; 27% wanted them stopped; 11% had no opinion.

ENGLISH 68% favored letting them in; 26% would stop them; 7% said they did not know.

MEXICANS 48% said let them in; 42% would stop them; 10% had no opinion.

CHINESE 56% said let them in; 36% want them stopped; 8% said they did not know.

RUSSIANS 57% said let them in; 33% favor having them stopped; 10% said they didn't know.

Compare

If you wish to compare the above figures which show the attitudes of the general public, with the opinions on this topic expressed by readers of FREE WORLD, turn to page 25.

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Comments Obtained In the General Poll

CAREFUL analysis of the answers to this poll, the comments made, and the population groups who made them, gives the basis for very significant conclusions regarding the ways in which Americans are thinking about the postwar immigration problem, and what factors influence their thinking.

In general, 25% of Americans seem to be opposed to any kind of immigation whatsoever. Accordingly when, for example, 36% are opposed to Chinese immigration or 46% to Jewish immigration, these figures represent 11% or 21% over the average minimum of those opposed to all immigration. This difference could be regarded as the margin of special prejudices against certain foreign groups, and shows what a big educational job has to be done in this field. Moreover many of those who are now opposing *all* immigration undoubtedly would change their minds if they knew *all* the facts.

It seems evident that the better educated groups are more inclined to be tolerant. For instance, 81% of those with a college education favor letting in the English; 62% favor letting in the Mexicans; 77% the Swedes, 62% the Jews; 69% the Russians. These percentages are much higher than for those with a high school education, and higher still for grammar school graduates.

In all educational groups there were a majority opposed to letting the Japs into our country after this war: 62% of college people voted to exclude them; 74% of those with High School education; and 83% of those with grammar school education. Germans, despite their war record of murder and pillage, were more favored than the Japanese as future citizens by all groups queried, possibly indicating that many Americans feel that the weight of our own democratic tradition is capable of molding future generations of German immigrants and their children, exactly as it has in the past.

Analysis of the replies given indicates that a little less than a quarter of our population is in favor of stopping *all* immigration after this war. Comments of some of those who took this stand were:

"Keep them out till we have readjusted ourselves."

"We have too many foreigners now."

"Keep everyone out until our people have jobs."

"Until our own are taken care of."

"The U. S. has been a dumping ground long enough."

"They will all be running over here causing a depression."

A spirit of faith was inherent in the replies of the large number who favored letting in all national groups after this war. Their comments are typical:

"We can never close the door on any nation; we are too progressive."

"But insist that they become good Americans."

"Either all or none should come. You can't bar some and take in others. There would be bad feelings."

"We should let them come in, for some of them are great inventors."

"If desirable for citizenship."

"Not the riffraff; but take in the upper crust."

"All our forefathers had to come here to make the country what it is."

Alongside the group having faith and the group apparently lacking full faith in our future, stands a third group of persons who would discriminate closely between people of various origins. Comments from these included such statements as:

"If they'd all stay in their own country we'd be better off."

"China has enough country."

"I'm against Asiatics who multiply too fast."

"I was taught to hate Chinese for dope."

(Dope addiction, an importation into China by international dope rings seeking profit, has been totally stamped out in recent years by stringent measures.)

"Stop Germans, Japs, Mexicans, Jews."

FREE WORLD quoted these replies in order to show how a lack of information translates itself into a lack of faith in America's future. Some answers indicate that those who make them are simply talking through their hats. For example, many say the United States is a dumping ground. As a matter of fact, there are many obstacles facing the foreigner trying to enter the United States today.

There is little basis in fact for such comments as "they would all be running over here." America has made too great a contribution to civilization not to be able to override such naiveté.

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Free World Readers

Reply To The Poll

HUNDREDS of FREE WORLD readers sent in their replies to this month's question on immigration to the United States.

Analyzing their reactions, these seem to be based on three fundamental assumptions: (1) Racial discrimination in the admission of immigrants is an undemocratic principle; (2) The only criteria for judging the individual immigrant should be his democratic loyalty and worth; (3) Economic factors are a possible cause for exclusion, but we are far from needing to stop immigration for economic causes. Following is a tabulation of the results of our readers' poll:

Readers' Answers:

GERMANS 64% of those who replied favored letting them in; 32% were opposed; 4% expressed doubts, weren't sure.

JAPANESE 62% favored letting them in; 32% were opposed; 6% weren't sure.

JEWS 96% favored letting them in; 2% wanted to stop them; 2% were in doubt.

SWEDES 96% said let them in; 2% said keep them out; 2% had doubts.

ENGLISH 99% were for letting them in; 1% were for stopping them.

MEXICANS 98% thought they should be let in; 2% wanted them kept out.

CHINESE 94% favored letting them in; 2% said keep them out; 4% said they were in doubt.

RUSSIANS 94% said let them in; 4% said keep them out; and 2% expressed doubt.

Among our readers there appears to be widespread agreement that, with the possible exception of enemy nationals, our country should not bar foreign groups. Even in regard to Germans and Japanese, many of the 32% who voted to exclude them suggested that they should be admitted at some future time when we could be sure they had changed their attitude toward democratic ideals.

Typical comments of those who believed all immigrants should be admitted were:

"Discrimination engenders resentment in excluded countries. Also, some of the false and destructive ideas of the Axis might die over here."

"No discrimination here or elsewhere, now or in the future, on the basis of race, color, geography, nation or religious creed."

"In an expanding economy, a grown educated adult is an asset to the country."

Those who voted to bar the Germans and Japanese, commented:

"Until a new generation is indoctrinated with a democratic education."

"The Germans have failed ignobly as a people."

"The good ones—if there are any—should be compelled to stay home and build a new Germany. The bad ones we don't want."

Many of our readers think that our question about Jews was wrongly put. The Jews who apply for immigration do so as nationals of their countries. FREE WORLD thinks these readers are right, and will take their advice into account in future polls.

(See also "Free Speech" for letters on the Poll.)

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The February Poll

The next question in FREE WORLD's American Opinion Poll appears below. The answers obtained by the National Opinion Research Center from men and women in all parts of the country will be tabulated and reported in the February issue. All readers are invited to submit their own answers and remarks.

Question for February

In which one of the following eight cities do you think the new world organization should have its headquarters? If you believe the headquarters should be in a city other than the ones mentioned, you may write in the name of that city.

Quebec	Washington	Moscow	The Hague
Vienna	Geneva	London	Paris

FREE WORLD's editors are asking this question because soon the statesmen of the United Nations will have to decide where the new League of Nations headquarters should be. While the location of the seat in itself is not of vital importance, it does in some ways affect the functioning of the world organization.

In a city which is very reactionary or nationalistic there is danger of an unfavorable influence. FREE WORLD feels that the headquarters should be in a city where the people really want it, where the press will give a fair reporting of the proceedings of the organization, and where the people of various countries will have easy access for presentation of their grievances, as for instance, prejudice against minorities.

FREE WORLD, 144 Bleecker St., New York 12, N. Y.

In my opinion, the new world organization should have its headquarters in:

Quebec	Vienna	Washington	Geneva	Moscow	London	The Hague	Paris	Other	No Opinion

Remarks: (A fuller reply by letter would also be appreciated.)

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Name . . . . . .

Address . . . . . .

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A Physical Plan FOR A World Of Plenty

Industrialization can help make freedom from want a global reality. Machines must increase the productivity of men as never before, on the land and in cities, in already mechanized regions and in backward areas.

By
MORDECAI EZEKIEL

IN an earlier article I sketched the probable economic condition of industry and agriculture at the end of the war. Let us now consider the physical steps needed after the war to move toward freedom from want.

The economic expansion and prosperity actually achieved will depend in large measure upon the success of three international undertakings: (1) the international security organization (2) the international stabilization fund and investment bank, proposed at the Bretton Woods Monetary Conference, and the world-wide progress in industrialization which they will make possible and (3) the program for agricultural expansion, proposed at the Hot Springs Food and Agriculture Conference.

Restoration of prewar productive capacity in most of the devastated areas will probably be accomplished in a surprisingly brief period, excluding possibly the heavy German or Japanese industries which are purposely left unrestored. All the major belligerents have greatly expanded their metal-working and chemical industries for munitions purposes. In some cases, as in Soviet Asia, they have developed great new industrial areas.

These war industries can be used with only minor reconversion to turn out the machine tools, processing equipment, rails and rolling stock, building materials and other physical goods for the restoration of damaged productive equipment. Even if only a fraction of the facilities, manpower, and expenditures now going into munitions production were applied to reconstruction, the job could be carried through within the first few years of peace. Rebuilding of devastated housing will be much slower, however. Temporary housing may be the rule for a considerable segment of the populations for many years ahead.

In many areas of Europe the new factories will replace old buildings and old equipment which had long been obsolete. In addition, war has forced many countries to learn and apply the methods of preplanning and mass production which have made American industry both so productive and so given to continued improvement. This new modern equipment combined with modern methods should greatly increase the productive capacity of these countries above their traditional levels.

In addition to the munitions industries of the invaded countries, a considerable part of the enormous metal-working facilities of England and the U. S. A. will be available to speed the reconstruction of other countries, while loans for reconstruction projects from the International Bank and other agencies can provide the necessary funds.

Far more exciting than the restoration of prewar output are the possibilities of output and standards of living improved far

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above prewar levels. The wartime expansion in the United States, with industrial production doubled and food production increased one-third, has shown how enormous are the productive capacities of modern industry and agriculture when assured of a market.

Industry and agriculture in Canada and in the uninvaded portions of the U.S.S.R. made comparable gains. For the advanced industrial nations, such as the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom, the postwar economic problem is largely one of maintaining buying power for their products. If markets for the goods can be maintained, farm and factory products can be produced at levels substantially above prewar norms.

A Century's Progress

FOR most remaining countries the problem is greatly different. These other countries have been far less industrialized. The great increase in industrial production which characterized the rapid rise of world prosperity in the hundred years prior to World War I occurred mostly in a limited area bounded roughly by St. Louis and Chicago on the west, and Danzig and Prague on the east.

Concurrently, there was a great increase in raw material and handicraft production in the remaining areas of the world. The colonial exporting areas gained in the industrial products they got back for their exports. Even so, the largest part of the increased production was retained by the industrial areas for themselves. Malayan copra producers, Bolivian tin miners, Argentinian beef gauchos, South African gold and diamond miners, and Alabama cotton sharecroppers, had only a meager share in the rising living standards of Liverpool, Providence, or Hamburg.

The further rise in industrial and agricultural productivity in the interwar period precipitated a situation where the raw material exporters expanded their production beyond the quantities that could be used effectively in all the raw material consuming countries. Steps toward industrialization were taken in many scattered areas in the predominantly colonial regions. Birmingham, Alabama; Japan; Bombay; Buenos Aires; Moscow, Leningrad, and other Russian centers all made notable industrial developments.

On the whole, improving agricultural machinery and techniques made previous workers unnecessary in agriculture at a more rapid rate than industrial expansion provided alternative work for them. Agricultural nations continued to develop capacity to turn out raw materials faster than the material-consuming industries of the world developed uses for the materials. Both farm products and farm workers tended to pile up in "unsalable surpluses."

These mounting raw material supplies and declining raw material prices accentuated the tendencies toward economic autarchy which were already present in Mussolini's "Battle for Wheat" and other pre-Nazi nationalistic pressures. The cessation of American foreign lending in 1928 and 1929, and the subsequent Great Depression with its sharp declines in prices and employment, sharply intensified the "live-at-home" policies and the raw material surpluses.

The fundamental task for the period ahead is to maintain balanced expansion in industrial and agricultural output. This will help expand markets and uses for foodstuffs and other raw materials as rapidly as the output of raw materials is increased, while protecting and conserving the basic resources of soil, water, and forests.

The tractor, the auto and truck, electric power, and other power-operated machinery have enormously increased agricultural output per man in North America, Australia, the U.K., and the U.S.S.R. Hybrid corn and other crop developments, better care of soil and water, and improved feeding, breeding, and disease control of livestock are increasing the potential agricultural output per *acre* almost as rapidly as per *manhour*.

Chemistry and technology are supplementing natural products with new materials—rayon, nylon, synthetic rubber, plastics. Unless special efforts are made to develop industrial outlets for these expanded raw materials at corresponding rates, flooded raw material markets may again deadlock the upsurge of prosperity, and lead once more to unemployment and starvation in the midst of plenty.

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It is imperative that industrial development be encouraged on a far more massive and widespread scale. This would be in the interest of general world prosperity, and would directly provide the means to raise standards of living in the less developed nations.

It is easy to see why this is so. Labor plus tools and training can achieve infinitely more than labor alone. The gardener with a wheel-hoe can care for triple the crops of a man with a hand-hoe—yet a wheel-hoe costs only about $5, and lasts for a decade of use. The rise in labor efficiency in wheat production from the sickle to the cradle, the cradle to the binder, and the binder to the combine-harvester, is classic. The typical European peasant, harvesting with a cradle, can produce 100 bushels of breadgrain from a year's work. One man can produce 2,000 bushels for a year's work on an average family-sized wheat farm in the Great Plains of North America, harvesting with a combine.

Throughout Europe, even in London, many goods are delivered by hand-operated carts and pedal-driven trucks. Automotive equipment could increase the efficiency many fold. The shift from the hand-operated forge or the one-or-two man tinsmith's shop of the medieval bazaars to the conveyor belts, pre-planned operations, and assembly lines of modern mass-production factories, has enormously increased the return from a day's work. And this made it possible to sell complex modern miracles like electric light bulbs, radio tubes, flashlight batteries, and standard pharmaceuticals, for a few cents a unit or a bottle.

When a country has large numbers of workers and little capital, it must concentrate that capital on the most crucial spots —such as railroads and ports—and use hand labor elsewhere in place of the simplest machines.

Statistical investigations have shown how intimately connected are industrial development and national prosperity. The studies related the proportion of each country's working population engaged in agriculture and forestry and fisheries to the average per capita income produced by the people of that country. The following data are from analyses by Louis H. Bean:

PER CAPITA INCOME AND PROPORTION IN AGRICULTURE, SELECTED COUNTRIES 1925-34

Country	Proportion engaged in agriculture* Per cent	Income per capita Dollars
Industrialized countries		
United States	19	525
Canada	35	521
United Kingdom	6	425
Argentina	23	430
Netherlands	21	358
France	25	287
Germany	24	290
Non-industrialized countries		
Hungary	54	165
Japan	50	159
Poland	62	165
Italy	43	154
U.S.S.R.	74	152
Bulgaria	67	119
India	62	90
China	75	49

*Includes also fishing and forestry.

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The data for a larger number of individual countries illustrate how striking is the general relation between the extent of industrialization and the average income per capita. When the comparisons are made between countries in the same economic region, such as between the several Scandinavian countries, the relation is still more striking.

Data for the individual States of the United States show much the same picture. Chronically poverty-stricken areas of the U.S.A., such as parts of the Cotton Belt and parts of the Southern Appalachian States, are areas of very low industrial development, while the highly industrialized States, such as Connecticut, New York, and more recently California, are regions of far higher average income.

The correspondence between industrialization and income is far from perfect, of course, either between countries or between American States. Agricultural countries using advanced methods and with abundant resources per worker, such as Canada or New Zealand, have incomes relatively high for their proportions in industry. Some countries moderately industrialized, such as Italy, but with limited resources and relatively primitive agriculture, have incomes low in proportion to their industrialization.

Similarly, American States with rich agricultural resources like Iowa or Minnesota have much higher incomes than do equally industrialized States with poorer agriculture, such as Tennessee or Kentucky. The degree of development or tertiary industries—trade, transportation, service, and professions—also affects income, since these industries provide higher incomes on the average, than do manufacturing and mining. Many of the figures, too, are inexact, and incomes can be compared between unlike countries only with a considerable margin of uncertainty. Yet general correlation between industrialization and income is striking.

Land Workers Poor

BOTH as between rural America and industrial America, and rural countries and industrial countries, the basic facts are the same. The hewers of wood and the drawers of water—and the producers of food and fish—are as a rule poorly paid throughout the world. The high-level prosperity of American farmers in 1918-20 and 1941-44 seems to happen only at the peak of great wars. The wielders of implements of modern civilization—spindle and loom, I-beam and welder's torch, bricklayer's trowel, locomotive throttle, engineer's T-square and transit, surgeon's scalpel and movie camera—earn more and live far better, as a rule, than do farmers. This overlooks, of course, the industrial unemployed in periods of business depression. Farmers too can multiply their power by machinery, setting their hands to tractor plows, hay loaders, and milking machines—but as we have seen, that can work out well only if still more of their brothers and sons turn to industry.

The great task of the postwar generation is to complete the industrial revolution—complete it by spreading industrial opportunity throughout the world, putting the means and mechanisms of large-volume modern production in the hands of peoples in all countries and aiding them to learn to control and use them wisely and effectively.

Three-quarters of the people of the world still live on the bare edges of subsistence, malnourished, poorly clothed, miserably housed. Their restricted and narrow lives show in their short span of life, in their limited education or knowledge of the world, in their abject poverty. The normal peacetime expectation of life is now

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over 60 years in the industrialized countries of western Europe and America. In Egypt and India and many Central and South American countries it is 35 years or less.

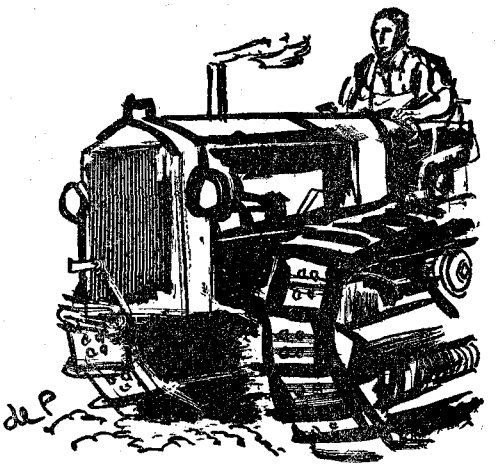
Out of 1,000 children born, about 170 die before one year of age in British India, only about 55 in the United Kingdom and the United States, and only 32 in New Zealand. Of each 100 male babies, only 54 reach 15 years of age in India, 70 in Bulgaria, while 94 do in New Zealand. The average income before the war was around $25 to $50 per person per year in most South American countries and China, and $90 in India, as compared with over $400 a year in the U. S. A., Canada and the United Kingdom, and around $300 a year in most of the highly industrialized regions of Northwestern Europe. These bare dollar figures merely provide a rough measure of the average distance that still exists between the standards of living in different countries, without considering the even larger extremes behind these averages within each country.

Completing the industrial revolution means developing the industry of all countries to the extent suitable to their resources and culture, and modernizing and intensifying their agriculture, mining, and other exploitative industries. The erection and operation of the factories themselves constitutes only one sector of the necessary transformation. Transportation, by road, rail, sea, and air, must be provided. So must electricity, water, sewage, streets roads, schools, hospitals, communications, and all the other paraphernalia which make high-level modern industry possible. Methods of agricultural production and marketing must be improved. Finally, creation of housing itself is one of the great users of human energy, as well as one of the great goals and symbols of human well-being.

Size of the Job

THE possible magnitude of this task that lies ahead—the industrialization of all under-developed regions of the world—may be estimated in various ways.

The world is fortunate in having had one great demonstration of what industrialization can do for an under-developed



country. The Soviet Union has demonstrated the possibilities of rapid industrialization. This has shown the rate of growth at which a country can both build the implements of modern civilization and learn to use them.

During its two decades of peace, the Soviet Union carried through the greatest national program of deliberate and planned industrialization the world has ever seen. During most of the last decade of this program, the threat of the fascist menace caused more and more of the growing industrial strength of the U.S.S.R. to be diverted into military preparations. We know now how fortunate the rest of the United Nations are that the U.S.S.R. began to prepare so soon and so well. Despite this diversion from peace to defense, the actual rate and magnitude of growth of Soviet industry is a measuring rod against which other nations can compare their plans and their achievements.

In 1929, as before World War I, Russia was a country of peasants. Over 80 per cent of the population was engaged in farming, and less than 20 per cent lived in cities. Despite its great per capita wealth of fertile soil the Russian income was only about 100 American dollars per capita. In 1926, only 51 per cent of the population was literate.

By 1939, the Soviet Union had increased its industrial employees to 42 per cent, or twice the proportion in 1928. The proportion of workers in agriculture had fallen from 80 per cent to 58 per cent, and the proportion of literacy in the population had been increased from 51 to 81 per cent.

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The reported State investment in new productive capital over this period was 135 billion roubles, equivalent to possibly 35 billion American dollars, about $220 per capita for the entire population. The national per capita income of the country had almost quadrupled in approximate dollar terms.

These bare accounting summaries give little idea of the human suffering and deprivation, or struggle and achievement, that went into this great period of growth. The creation of new industrial communities like Stalingrad and Magnitorsk, the carrying through of vast construction and developmental projects like the Dnieprostroi dam and hydroelectric works, now destroyed, the reorganization and mechanization of Soviet agriculture and countless other realistic activities were involved in remaking the whole life of the country. The struggles, aspirations, and careers of tens of millions of people went into the great development.

For many years the Russian people had almost no new textiles, shoes, or other deferrable consumer goods and only the most Spartan of food and clothing, in order to squeeze out the capital for basic industrial development. They were just beginning to relax a little, and to enjoy rising, though still low, standards of consumption, when the growing fascist threat plunged them into another era of privation, which actual war greatly intensified.

The industrialized might of the modern Soviet Union, the technical perfection of its tanks and planes and guns, the inventiveness and skill of its military leaders, and the stubbornness and devotion of its fighters, both in the ranks and on their own as guerrillas, astounded Hitler and all the world. Few had believed the Soviet's own reports of its internal progress. The reported fact of an increase in Russian industrial production of 437 per cent from 1928 to 1939 no longer looks fantastic, in retrospective view of the way that industrial might, aided by supplies from her allies, halted and smashed the greatest fighting machine the world had ever seen up to that time.

Few other countries may wish to regiment their people for peacetime development as rigorously as the U.S.S.R. has regimented hers. Few may attempt to go so far and so fast in all lines of the nation's life at the same time. Given help from the more advanced nations, other undeveloped nations can gain many of the advantages of industrialization without calling on their people for the extreme initial sacrifices which the present generation of Russians have made. But no matter how the Soviet achievement may be qualified, it still remains one of the outstanding facts of the present world. A nation can, if it will, lift itself by its own bootstraps. It can "starve itself rich." Given the will to industrialize, it can make itself over from a backward nation to a modern industrial power within a single generation.

Other nations or areas have made similar transformations, though at somewhat slower rates. Turkey is one example. The Jewish settlements in Palestine are another, greatly aided, of course, by the inflow of loans, and contributions and skilled persons from other countries. The growth and development of the Tennessee Valley area of the U. S. A. is a third. But none of them—except possibly Palestine—has achieved the tempo and intensity of progress of the Soviet experience.

Next month Mr. Ezekiel shows how the living standards of all the world's peoples can be raised through world-wide industrialization.

Coming—In February

"Will Science Be the Religion of Tomorrow?" is the title of an important article by the noted French mathematician Claude Chevalley, scheduled for the February issue of FREE WORLD, another in this magazine's series of contributions by scientists of many countries. Chevalley's article has significance for all those who think that science can find the answers to the problems of man, including his social problems, as well as for those who believe that the role of scientific research is strictly limited.

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The State of The World

THE BRAVE NEW WORLD

Tough Henderson

Brilliant and tough former OPA Administrator, Leon Henderson, has flown with his efficient girl Friday, Lou Landrum, to London where he is discussing with the British, perhaps with the Russians, plans for economic control of Germany. The German industrialists who have supported Hitler and the Reichswehr won't be happy when, as, and if, Henderson definitely takes the job of American Economic Administrator in Germany. His friends believe that, while he does not completely accept the so-called Morgenthau plan, he is very strongly in favor of de-industrializing everything in Germany which might be used for new war preparations.

Henderson takes with him to London an important proposal. According to our information he is opposed to applying, in the economic field, the division of Germany into three or four separately controlled areas. Instead he proposes an over-all three-man board for Germany's economic control, supported by three-man regional and local setups. Thus, he is convinced, it will be easier to limit German economic power.

Unorthodox France

Within the old gray building of the French Treasury Department the breeze of the Fourth Republic is blowing away many a sacred rule and many a high official previously considered indispensable. The latest measure adopted by De Gaullist Ministers René Pleven and Pierre Mendes-France consists of abolishing all tariffs and duties on imports to France.

The traditionalists in the French Ministry of Finance and fanatical tariff-worshippers everywhere must think this is the end of the world.

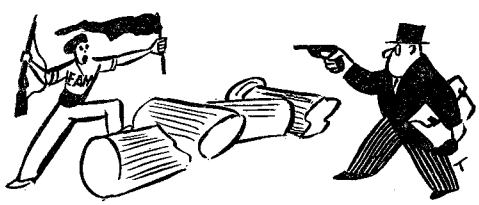
Attention, tariff-worshippers in the rest of the world! Perhaps you can learn something from the French example. It may not be orthodox but it might work.

THE SAME OLD GAME

Aftermath of Blunder

When Prime Minister Papandreou left the Council of Ministers on the afternoon of December 1, he was a sadly worried man. He knew that the only way to avoid bloodshed would be to withdraw in favor of a leader who would be more acceptable to all sections of the country. But his British friends, Ambassador Sir Reginald Leeper and General Ronald Scobie, advised him differently.

On the third of December the tragic shooting started. Mr. Papandreou's only move was to shift from his home to the Hotel Grande Bretagne, which was the strongly-protected residence of high British officials. When he realized that the struggle was likely to go much further than a little shooting by the Greek police, he offered to resign, asking Mr. Sofoulis to form a new coalition government.



There again the ill-advised British stepped in with a firm veto.

And then it followed as an inevitable consequence that mortar shells and machine gun bullets became the fireworks celebrating the liberation of Greece.

There is only one way out—the resignation of Papandreou, the formation of a true coalition government, and the departure from Greece of the high British officials responsible for this frightful blunder.

FREE WORLD has at hand a direct message from Gen. Plastiras announcing that he is in contact with the Government and is awaiting passage back to Athens. This might bring about the solution of the crisis.

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THE BRAVE NEW WORLD

Useful War Memorials

In England pompous supporters of "patriotism as usual" are alarmed that new theories are penetrating even the sanctified field of war memorials. There is a growing movement in England in favor of commemorating the war dead with new *hospitals, town halls, or cottages for veterans* instead of the traditional monuments. The first balloting on this subject is taking place in a southern town where 9,000 citizens are about to decide the issue. According to our correspondent, the decision almost certainly will be in favor of useful rather than ornamental war memorials. Many other English communities have similar plans.

FREE WORLD recommends this excellent idea to American cities.

Cardenas' Surprise

The Franco ambassador to the United States is saying to his friends in this country that he has American public opinion in the bag.

Well, Nation Associates, together with the CIO, the Free World Association, the League for Industrial Democracy and others is organizing a big mass demonstration for the Spanish Republic and against Franco at Madison Square Garden on January 2nd.

As It Should Be

Pierre Krier, Minister of Labor and Mines in the Luxembourg Government, has presented a truly progressive program for the reconstruction of Luxembourg. He states the following minimum objectives:

a) *Integrating the nation within a veritable international order with full powers and competence;*

b) *Extending political democracy* (which must henceforth penetrate all the "reserved" fields, such as the diplomatic service), *and building it upon the broadest and soundest social foundations;*

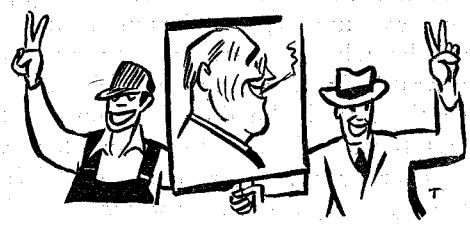
c) *Basing the country's economic reconstruction upon industrial democracy with social security the goal.*

THE SAME OLD GAME

Another Famous Victory

As to Prime Minister Churchill's tactical triumph over the Greek patriots and over the liberals in his own Parliament, perhaps the most appropriate comment is found in Robert Southey's poem on "The Battle of Blenheim," a glorious triumph won by Mr. Churchill's distinguished ancestor, the Duke of Marlborough:

"But what good came of it at last?"
Quoth little Peterkin.
"Why that I cannot tell," said he;
"But 'twas a famous victory."



Predictions

Reactionaries in Europe argued for postponement of every progressive measure in the liberated countries because Roosevelt would definitely be licked. Reactionary Americans predicted that De Gaulle wouldn't last three months.

"Sudeten" in Argentina

There are 150,000 Uruguayans who are scattered throughout Argentina, the overwhelming majority of whom are sincerely democratic and as strongly opposed to military dictatorship as the majority of the other inhabitants of Argentina.

In recent weeks Senor Luis Alberto de Herrera, a former dictator of Uruguay who has been repudiated by his people, has conceived the plan of using the Uruguayans in Argentina against the democratic government of Montevideo as Hitler used the Sudeten Germans against Czechoslovakia. Argentina's dictator Peron, who is running the country Hitler style, of course approved the plan. Mr. von Herrera's friends are saying that one day the Uruguayans living in Argentina might march together with the Argentine Army to "free" Uruguay from the truly democratic government of Dr. Amezaga, elected by the majority of the people.

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THE BRAVE NEW WORLD

French Own Their Coal

The most important coal mines in France have been nationalized by decree of the Provisional Government. The way the management committees have been set up is very interesting. The Government appoints by decree the president and general manager of each producing unit. The management is entrusted to a consultative commission composed of 24 members, including 9 representatives of the state, 8 members of the staff (technicians and workers), 5 representatives of industrial coal consumers, and 2 representatives of the old owner corporations.

Each coal mine will maintain the character of a commercial corporation and will not be operated as a government office. The profits will be divided among the state, the staff, and the social security organizations. The mine owners will be paid an indemnity on the basis of the price of coal during 1938 and 1939. Their indemnity, however, will not exceed the dividends paid out during those two years.

Partially United Nations

On December 11th, at Washington, within the somewhat shabby magnificence that was once the Czarist Embassy, Soviet Ambassador Gromyko and Chilean Ambassador Mora signed papers whereby Chile became the sixth Latin-American nation to recognize the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The others already maintaining official relations with the Soviet Union are Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Mexico, and Uruguay.

That is all to the good. Not so good is the fact that most of our "good neighbors" to the south persist in refusing to recognize Russia as within the pale of respectability. Still clinging to the anti-Comintern complex are Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Salvador, and Venezuela.

Of course the chief reason for this anachronism is the persistent hostility of the Catholic hierarchy toward Communism.

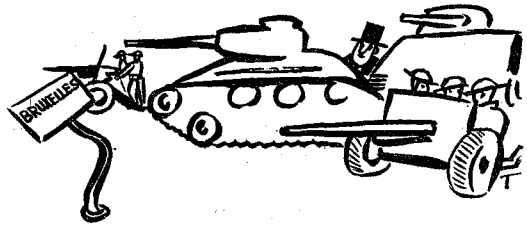
THE SAME OLD GAME

Mr. Pierlot's Mistake

When on September 8th the Belgian Prime Minister Pierlot left England for Belgium, the Belgian Underground made a splendid show to which the Allies paid enthusiastic tribute.

Mr. Pierlot's major mistake was not to realize that things have changed in four years—that new and young men have emerged in the struggle and that they had the right to demand and obtain changes.

A conservative Catholic, Mr. Pierlot was afraid of swift changes. He wanted to postpone reforms which were already overdue in 1939, but which were imperative in 1944. Despite a temporary success with the help of the Allied military forces, Mr. Pierlot will have to realize that those changes must be made—or he will be changed.



Partial Price of Fascism

Here are some figures which are not yet complete but which already indicate something of what the Germans consumed in France or sent to the Reich:

More than 10,368,000 tons of wheat
More than 10,163,000 tons of oats
More than 10,774,000 tons of meat
26,000 tons of fresh or canned fish
643,000 horses
103,914,000 lb. of butter
67,612,000 lb. of cheese
85,042,000 lb. of edible oil
More than 797,000 tons of potatoes
More than 290,000 tons of vegetables
360 million lb. of sugar
81,230,000 lb. of cocoa and chocolate
5,790,000 lb. of coffee
More than 810,000,000 liters of wine.

In addition, forests were stripped by the enemy who shipped out at least 3 million cubic meters of wood.

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THE BRAVE NEW WORLD

Australia Moves Ahead

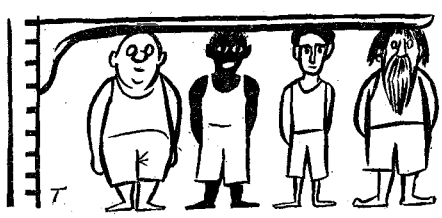
In Australia, plans for a better life after the war are making steady progress. The Federal Housing Commission submitted a report to the Australian Government recommending "investigation of the advisability of nationalization of land to be used for postwar housing schemes." Under this recommendation slums would be taken over without compensation to house owners if they refuse to make houses fit for habitation.

Under a new scheme *all Australians* will be entitled to free hospital treatment. The Government will pay the hospitals one dollar per day per patient, providing a subsidy to the hospitals which will cost the Commonwealth about $14,300,000 a year.

A PROGRAM IN SLOGANS FOR WORLD CITIZENS

(for December and January)

1. **Increase the output for the United Nations War Effort.**
2. **Support Dumbarton Oaks and the granting of full powers to the National Delegate in the Security Organization.**
3. **Protest against the anti-resistance policies in Greece.**
4. **Ask for real help in weapons and planes for China *Now*.**
5. **Fight further appeasement of Fascists—particularly of Franco.**
6. **Educate yourself and your friends on principles of world organization and democracy.**



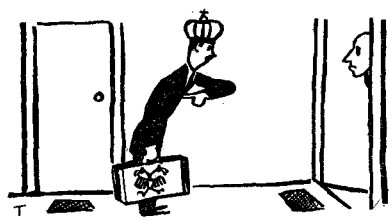
THE SAME OLD GAME

Stagnant Australia

According to the bulletin issued by the Australian Information Bureau, "It is believed that the country could maintain a population of 20,000,000."

As yet, the only two measures which have been adopted permit children sent to Australia during the war to stay there, and provide for the eventual admission of other parentless children from Europe. Furthermore, U. S. servicemen who desire to obtain permits for entry as settlers may do so.

What Australia needs and what it owes to the world is to let in immigrants by the hundred thousands and millions to cultivate vast areas of land now unused and thus to increase Australian production and security and strength.



Politicos Making Capital

Latin American politicos, who are maintaining in many countries south of the border regimes which strangely resemble Mussolini's past regime or Hitler's and Franco's present regimes, are discouraging their opponents by prison, exile, assassination and . . . sometimes by political arguments. This is their latest whispering campaign, aimed at discouraging attempts to establish democratic and progressive regimes. In order to prevent the emergence of left regimes in Europe, there is a plan, they say, supported by powerful forces in England and the U. S. A., to restore monarchies wholesale:

Otto in Austria-Hungary
Juan in Spain
Braganza in Portugal
Count of Paris in France
and the Duke of Windsor in Berlin!

Of course the last two nominations are utterly fantastic. . . .

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A Force For Peaceful Cooperation

Democracy's Propaganda

By
JOHN GRIERSON

Many of the advocates of freedom of the press and of information completely leave out of their thinking the expressions of government information which have been made during this war. Many of them are bitterly opposed to any kind of government information in the peace. This article by the Canadian Government's Film Commissioner offers a provocative argument in favor of government information services, particularly in the international field, after the war.

THE prospect for government information services is more interesting today than at any time in twenty years. No one, of course, can pretend to foresee very much of the pattern that will develop from the new problems of the nations and the problems of the various internationales which will come out of the war, but the fact that the information services of even three years ago already have an air of amateurism and inadequacy may at least be suggestive.

In the thirties there was never enough thought given to the information services of the democratic governments. They were for the most part piecemeal and haphazard, without considered relationship to the operations of democratic government within the nation or of democracy in its international activity. They were always a trifle frightened of themselves for it was not generally allowed that information services were proper to democratic government.

Government information has been one of the blind spots of private enterprise. In spite of every evidence of necessity, there has been much aggravation that governments should have press, radio and film services of their own. There has been talk of government denying free access to the information which ought properly to be available, and directly, to the people. There has been fear of concealment and the creation of prejudice; of the possibility of partisan propaganda and the emasculation of public criticism. It has been suspected that there might be a sweeping intrusion into what has been lushly described as the "freedom of the press."

All this of course can be academically allowed as conceivable, but information services do not basically arise from any of these guilty intentions and, by their very nature, tend progressively to avoid them. They may be perverted for the purpose of specious publicity and—if not checked—they may intrude on the people's right to know. They can be perverted in the selfsame way as radio and newspaper services have sometimes been perverted and can, in fact, be as notable a threat to the "freedom of the press" as the press itself.

But with governments, there are checks and hindrances of the first order: in Cabinet, Congress and Parliament, day in and day out; in the professional sense of public responsibility to be found even among

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bureaucrats and boards of control; and not least, of course, in the clamor, criticism and comment for which newspapers and sectional groups are very properly organized. Unlike the press, democratic governments so often are under only brief contract and their contract is under daily scrutiny.

A government information service has an even deeper reason for being genuine. It emanates from needs integral to the processes of modern government and from needs which private enterprise cannot meet. There is the need of democratic governments to give their people an account of stewardship; but above all, information services are a necessary result of requiring a government to plan or coordinate the national effort. The duty is thereby imposed of telling the people what measure of cooperation is required of them in the national interest.

Danger to U. S. Services

OF all countries, the United States is perhaps the least aware of this distinction and has contributed less than it might to a body of criticism which would make it plain. A certain paralysis in the development of information services is bound to follow from such misunderstanding and there may be a danger that services built up most ably and which are vitally necessary to a nation's future will be scrapped at the war's end.

Smaller nations observe that in this one respect a great nation may start off inarticulate and confused and no match for nations which know their minds and are organized to express them. On the other hand, the expression of the mind of a great nation like America is so vital to the world's future that the greatest harm would come from any failure to develop it. The future of services established by OWI, of the communications system built up by the American armed forces, and of the information and cultural plans of the State Department have this crucial importance—and not only to the citizens of the United States.

Happily, even the most sceptical countries have made much more progress in the international field of information than in the national one where the fear of partisan political advantage has been concentrated. It is relatively self-evident that a nation's trading ambitions must be supported by information services which only a government can provide. Thus, embassies, consulates and officers of commerce have built up a more or less adequate machinery, both at home and abroad, for acquiring and dispensing special knowledge. In some cases, and particularly among the middle and smaller nations, private enterprise has required the government to go further and undertake national publicity campaigns in integration and support of their individual, but often piecemeal, methods.

One remembers with particular vividness the British exhibit at Barcelona in the beginning of the thirties, when a wretchedly inadequate array of manufactures found itself in competition for the first time with the mighty government-organized display of Germany's industrial power. The contrast was then so patently shameful to British pride that the British Government was on every hand encouraged to meet the challenge. Under the same spur of competition from publicities organized by the more deliberate governments, the British Council and the B.B.C. extended this information service to other countries to include pamphlets and films and press services and radio programs of every kind and species.

The important point was that these developments in England were matched by the efforts of many other governments, similarly aware of the need for a more total effort on behalf of their respective countries and, in all cases, receiving for it the national blessing. Governments could not get out of the "publicity business" even if they wanted to.

More important still, they were no sooner in the "publicity business" than they learned that the term was totally inadequate to the operation. It soon became apparent that a nation must walk softly abroad and deny itself high pressure tactics which went very well at home. Britain learned this lesson after the criticism made of its Brussels exposition in the middle thirties, where, within the confines of a small country, an admirable display of strength appeared as all too much of a display of strength.

What perhaps confused the democratic countries during the thirties, was the infinite clamor made about German propa-

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ganda and its effectiveness abroad. It was felt by many that only similar methods could succeed and, unwittingly, a high pressure conception of international information deriving from a fascist philosophy was assumed by countries which professed a very different outlook. One remembers that the first British broadcast in Arabic, intended to counter Italian propaganda in the near East, dashed into the business of peace and good will with the announcement that two Arab agitators in Cairo had that very day been hung. High pressure tactics, if not altogether eradicated from the information services of great nations, have been greatly altered through the experience of the war. Operators within the information services have rebelled against displays of strength toward other countries.

Just the Facts

THERE has been much emphasis on giving the "facts," though no one has been able to avoid a measure of selection and omission. Better still, there has been an attempt, both conscious and unconscious, to get out of the propaganda category altogether and build communications services, as they ought to have been built from the beginning, on a true democratic basis.

Before the war, the British Council, which is the cultural relations instrument of the British Government, came as near discovering this as any other national information organization. I say this the more readily because I have sometimes been critical of the British Council for not discovering it more quickly. Its distinction is that it removed national information from the curse of storming the weak and deceiving the ignorant. It developed levels of communication on which universities, learned societies and other cultural groups could exchange their "culture"; and it has done much to describe England's national contribution in the fields of art, music, drama, science and social welfare.

In this the British Council has been notably aided by the foreign service of the British Broadcasting Company, by the British documentary film group, and in the war years, by the Ministry of Information. All have worked toward the same principle —that it is only on terms of mutual respect and of equality that democratic communications can prosper. It may be permitted a Scotsman to say that the English are at last aware of a law of international behavior which the Scots have known for centuries. There is a paradoxical point where a national information service must become international to fulfill itself. There is a field of operation beyond those services which involve the answering of questions about one's country, concern that the nation's diplomacy shall be supported, and an adequate picture of the nation's self importance in the foreign press.

It is not self-evident that organizations like OWI, the Ministry of Information, the British Council, or our own Wartime Information Board and the National Film Board in Canada, must always pursue exclusively the interest of Britain, America or Canada as the case may be. It is not self-evident because nations do not now, in the light of Lend-Lease, Mutual Aid, Bretton

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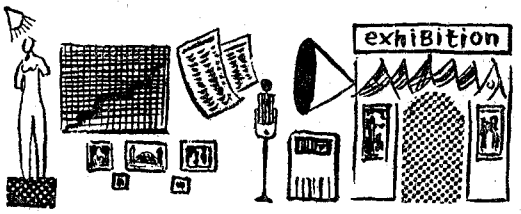

Woods, Dumbarton Oaks and UNRRA, exclusively pursue their own national interests, but have, in fact, at many points sublimated their national interests to international ones.

I see the effect in my own immediate field of interest and will, if I may, cite some local instances. I see that I am no longer exclusively concerned with the presentation of Canada's achievements in industry, agriculture and social welfare, but am also concerned in contributing to the program of UNRRA. I feel that if Canada has joined in the various pledges of mutual aid, we would be remiss if we did not make films about the consequent relationships of the United Nations. We therefore arrive at films which are concerned with the economic interdependence and common economic strategies of the United Nations. We go further still and feel obliged as one member of the United Nations to know more about the special viewpoints of our allies and so arrive at films on Russia's foreign policy and the political prospects of France.

We begin indeed to experiment with descriptions of the international shape of things. It may be a matter of incidental interest to note that we think that our maps of Canada would be bare—bare of the future—if we did not habitually show Canada's proximity to other nations. Certainly we would find it thoughtless in building up our information on the war effort if we did not show the war effort of others too. It would also be thoughtless if in building our programs of social information we did not consider them of equal value to our neighbors.

I am thinking of programs in such fields of information as housing and town planning, industrial safety, child welfare and the many other basic aspects of rural and industrial sociology; but the same thought is possible in the technological fields relating to vocational planning and rehabilitation. To large and important aspects of information and education, national barriers are as unreal as they are to the flight

of birds. It would be sense to integrate our national programs.

I am making the case that it is now within logic for national information services to think less of presenting their own nations to the world and more of presenting the new cooperative world to which their nations are pledged. What are we informing our citizens about today if it is not about those problems and concerns which are the problems and concerns of all the world: food, health, housing, reconstruction and the rest? Each involves international relationships and dependencies.

In the concern for social progress which now besets the nations, the national interest is often deeply the interest of others. I see in this fact a new phase for information services: larger in prospect than ever before, whether the information flows directly between the information offices of the world or through the offices of functional internationales like UNRRA, ILO, and the Council of Ministers of Education.

In that phase, one hopes, the best service that we can do for our country will be in the articulation and projection of its larger international self.

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Our Berlin Allies

(An Army of Foreign Workers)

BY

MAX MANDELLAUB & FRANK E. KENT

GENERAL EISENHOWER'S appeal to foreign workers in Germany to get ready for the final blow against the Nazis may prove one of the most important elements in our psychological warfare. It is fair to assume there are some 33 million workers toiling within the 1938 borders of the Reich. About 25 per cent of these are laborers of non-German origin. Their importance appears still greater when it is realized that almost half the German workers are women, so that the foreign workers outnumber the German men in many of Hitler's plants.

In their policy of intensive utilization of "Europe's inferior nations" the Nazis kept two factors in mind, namely, (1) to exploit the foreign workers to the utmost, and (2) simultaneously to set up measures of self-protection against increasing danger latent in the aggregations of foreign workers within the Reich.

The Nazis became more alarmed over the problem of foreign workers in Germany as their numbers multiplied and as the social contacts between them and the German population increased. This was especially true in the case of the French and later the Russians who had never been nazified as had the peoples of some of the nazi satellites. Fear of the Russian workers was especially acute because they were more capable of spreading anti-nazi propaganda. They actually have been doing so, right up to the present time.

A relatively high proportion of Russians speak or understand German, since among all the foreign languages taught in the Soviet Union, German occupied a predominant place. The Russian youth was particularly eager to read Marx and Engels in the original, and now these studies proved fruitful from a quite unexpected point of view. Thus, it was easy for the Russian prisoner to make contacts among the German population without having at the same time inhibitions against things German per se, as did many other foreign workers. This relationship existed despite the fact that the treatment the Russian received under the Nazis was worse than that of any other foreign worker.

With every nazi bastion that falls, with each mile of German soil occupied by the Armies of the Allies, the hour draws closer when a new and powerful force for liberty will be unleashed—the fury and determination of the millions of foreign slaves inside the Reich. The Germans know it, and they are afraid.

Another fear that has haunted the Nazis stems from the fact that German girls associate with foreign workers despite legal restrictions. This social and sexual relationship raises an additional threat to the Nazi social structure and its dogma of the super race. The number of German girls who have chosen foreigners as fathers for their children since the beginning of the war may well reach 150,000. Moreover, all groups of foreign labor harbor within themselves strong hates against

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the nazi system. They might form centers of resistance which would give strong impetus to the anti-fascist underground movement within Germany. In May of this year the neutral press in Switzerland and Sweden reported the growth of sabotage by foreign workers, the increasing desertions, the intensification of anti-Hitler activities among the "foreign slaves" in Germany, and the crystallization of an underground supplying fictional documents, shelter and food to "illegal" foreign workers hiding throughout Germany. The St. Galler Tageblatt reported that German anti-Fascists are assisting foreigners in their "promenade" to the border. At least 60,000 foreign workers are reported to be on their "way home" each day that passes.

Despite their determined exploitation of foreign labor the Nazis had no rigid method for the treatment of these workers. Instead they adopted expedient procedures depending on changes in events, the fortunes of war, and the fluctuations of their needs. As a matter of fact, nobody in Germany expected that so many millions of foreigners would be needed in Germany following the failure of the blitzkrieg after the first two years of the war. Consequently no detailed plan was prepared for the organization, administration and handling of foreign labor; rather, a policy of confused opportunism became the rule.

Nazi Brutality

TREATMENT of foreign workers at first was dictated by the brutal instincts of the S.S. and the S.A. Later this brutality became systematic to the extent that the Nazis believed it necessary for their own protection. But when brutality reached a certain point it could not be pushed further without endangering the war production so urgently needed. So in 1943 the Germans started a program of winning over the foreign workers by such means as the establishment of libraries and movies for certain groups of foreign workers, granting of leaves, and other propaganda methods. Also, Quislings were trained who infiltrated into the foreign workers' ranks to speak of the inevitable German victory that would ultimately be achieved.

As the idea that Germany might lose the war began to permeate parts of the German population it strengthened the aggressiveness of the patriotic elements among the foreign workers, particularly the Poles and Russians, while at the same time it augmented the vulnerability of the German workers to defeatist propaganda. Thus the Nazis were confronted with a dilemma which on the one hand required relaxation of regulations for treatment of foreign workers in order to increase their productivity, while on the other hand it imposed the necessity of more rigid control over these workers to prevent the spread of defeatism among the inhabitants of the Reich.

Although information concerning the number and geographical distribution of foreign labor in Germany is still meager, available data show it has been a source of considerable productive manpower. Undoubtedly a great number of foreigners, both civilian and prisoners of war, are working in industrial areas such as the Ruhr, Berlin, upper Silesia, the Saar, and Vienna. They are also used wherever available for clearing away the debris after air bombardments. Thus they get a first-hand impression of the growing strength of allied air power, and are probably the best informed group in Germany on the extent of damage to Germany's industrial capacity.

Although many foreign workers have been allocated to rural districts throughout Germany, the numerical relationship between those utilized in agriculture and those in industry is not even approximately known. Between September 1941 and the beginning of 1943 the total number of foreign workers (prisoners of war and civilians) in Greater Germany increased from 3,700,000 to 6,500,000 or by more than 76 per cent: Russians by some 2,000,000; French by more than 1,500,000 and Polish by more than 1,350,000 foreign workers. Altogether, these three nationalities constituted the bulk of the total of forced labor in Germany at the beginning of 1943.

The New York *Times* recently estimated the latest figures for French workers as follows: 1,250,000 prisoners of war, 1,000,000 labor conscripts, 300,000 political prisoners, and 750,000 Jews and Alsatians, or a total of 3,300,000 French workers in Germany. This is an increase of 1,800,000 over

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the 1943 figure; and, if similar allowances for increases are taken into account for the other countries we have a conservative estimate of more than 10,000,000 foreign workers in the German war economy at the present time. Within the 1938 border of Germany a little more than 8 million foreigners are presently employed.

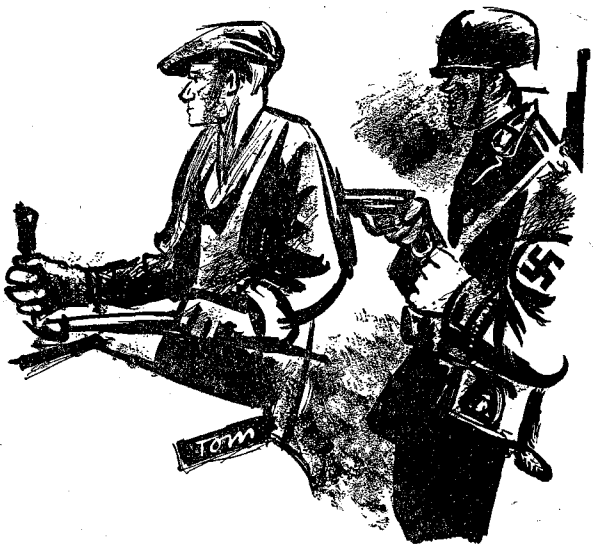
Compulsory recruitment for the German labor service was carried out among the occupied countries in accordance with the Act of February 16, 1943, supplemented by subsequent decrees. Workers were transferred to various industries in accordance with the criticalness of the needs and the changing unfavorable fortunes of war. Severe penalties were provided for those workers who in any way were found guilty of inciting disobedience to the Labor Service Act. Penalties could take such forms as the imposition of heavy fines, internment in a concentration camp, or execution. In occupied countries exemption from service in Germany was granted to farm workers, coal miners, and the police.

The demands on foreign labor became more acute than ever as the military situation for the Nazis began to go from bad to worse after 1943.

Fugitives to Underground

A LARGE number of non-Germans, particularly the younger ones, have tried to evade the compulsory labor service and the attempts to send them to Germany. Many of these have run away to join the various guerrilla and partisan forces operating in the occupied territories. Nevertheless, the Nazis did succeed in recruiting large numbers for the compulsory labor service.

The Nazis practiced discrimination in various forms and to different degrees against foreign workers of the various countries. Their most vicious methods were reserved for the eastern Europeans, particularly the Poles, Russians, and Jews. In line with the Nazi racial theory, the Pole, for example, was officially put and kept in a position of economic and social inferiority and this despite his economic contribution in war production. In order to prevent an efficient foreign worker from receiving a larger wage than some Germans, an order was promulgated withholding a specific proportion of the wages earned by the foreigner, this on the pretext that the German worker was liable for certain levies which the foreign worker did not have to pay.



The relationship between a German employer and a foreign employee is not an employment relationship in the sense of the relevant German provisions as applied to German workers. The tenets of the Nazi Labor Regulation Act concerning "leadership" and "followership" in the establishment, the obligation to loyalty and mutual assistance, and the idea of social honor are inapplicable in the case of contracts of employment concluded with foreign workers. Under the Act the foreign worker possesses no labor protection rights, though employers are not specifically prohibited from allowing their foreign workers the benefit of some of the legal provisions applicable to German workers. Employers *are* prohibited, under pain of severe penalties, from allowing a number of specified privileges to these workers from occupied territory.

An order in regard to the remuneration of Polish workers specifies that, although the general provisions are applicable, only the minimum rate for any particular group or category is to be paid them. The payment of bonuses to Poles for above-average output is not however prohibited; on the other hand, the minimum time rates payable to piece workers are not payable to Poles.

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Foreign workers are subject to the Hours of Work Order issued in 1938, which specifies 10 hours as the length of work day. However, under the compulsory labor system foreign workers have worked 12 hours per day, and in many instances longer. Also, conscripted foreign youth are not covered by the provisions of the German Juvenile Workers Protection Act of April 1938, but rather are subject to the Adult Work Order.

With the war taking on a more serious and dangerous turn the Nazis more and more were forced to reverse their previous extreme policy of economic ostracism and persecution of Jews, and to utilize out of grim necessity the working capacity of foreign as well as domestic Jews. A German Jew under the Nazis was considered a member of a foreign race. The list of provisions not to be applicable to "useful" Jewish workers is the same as that for Poles, while by specific provisions their lot was made even more degraded.

Hostile French Workers

ALTHOUGH the French workers in Germany have not had to face as extreme conditions as the Jews and eastern European peoples, their lot has not been a satisfactory one by any means. New regulations were put into effect by the Nazis with the implied intent of improving some of the working conditions, but in actual practice these have not worked out well. Wages are subject to various deductions, such as for the Labor Front, Winter Aid and similar items which considerably reduce the net amount received. Moreover, there has been a thorough revision of the rules governing allowances and other payments to French workers in Germany involving a general scaling down of the rates. The Nazis have not been able to effect to any noticeable degree the non-cooperative and hostile attitude of the French workers.

The Russians are exploited on a level below that of animals. The Nazis appear to have adopted the extreme policy of squeezing the limit of labor out of the Russian workers and prisoners of war, on the thesis of their native capacity to endure hardships. Despite the 12 and even 14-hour day that the Russian worker had to put in, he has had to go hungry because of the deliberate policy of malnutrition and slow starvation that was carried out.

The Nazis have tried to disclaim such a policy, pointing out that "a worker must be adequately fed because he is needed for work." This argument is spurious. Over a short period of time, at least, there is a considerable gap between the amount of food required merely to prevent collapse, and the amount necessary to end hunger. Moreover, it is consistent with nazi sadistic principles to have the other European peoples go hungry, fall or die, and thus become weaker than the German people, even if the Nazis are losing the war.

The Soviet press has repeatedly accused nazi Germany of treating every Russian male able to bear arms as a prisoner of war and has supported this statement by publishing an Order of the Day found in the possession of Germans made prisoners in Russia. The ruthless method of recruiting foreign labor was supplemented by the establishment of employment offices in Russian territory, using this machinery to compel the emigration of civilians for work in Germany as well as in other territory.

Ukrainian and White Russian women are reported to have been sent as far away as western Germany bordering on France, and to have been put to work on tasks usually performed by men, such as mining, transport work, and operation of large machines. Some of the younger women were shipped away by the Nazis for prostitution. In some regions the whole populations able to work were recruited and sent on. Where resistance by the people was considerable, the Nazis did not hesitate to use their usual extreme measures.

Mass Atrocities

THE Russian radio recently announced that the Nazis killed over 100,000 Russian and Polish prisoners of war as well as civilians during the German occupation of the town of Rovno, Poland. Similar mass atrocities have been perpetrated in many other eastern European areas. The International Red Cross Committee in Geneva never did undertake an investigation of the "living" conditions of Russian prisoners dying between the Rhine and the Weichsel.

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Questions of legal competency have silenced the voice of an organization devoted to the high ideal of Henri Dunant, the founder of the Red Cross.

Defeat Confuses Nazis

NOW that the allied armies are on the Siegfried line the Nazis are confronted by overwhelming contradictions in their policies and attempts to meet this ominous event. They are enforcing the most rigid controls over German as well as foreign manpower. Before the Germans were driven back they issued an order that all men between the ages of 16 and 50 in France, Belgium and the Netherlands must register at once and be assigned to labor battalions. Those failing to register were to be subject to the extreme penalties, including execution.

In sharp contrast to the above situation, we find a degree of abatement in the severity with which other foreign groups of workers had been treated. With the prospect of defeat and disaster facing the Germans, they are attempting to soften their treatment of the foreign workers in their midst. The D.N.B. announced a new policy for foreign workers from Eastern Europe. Henceforth, they will get the same wages as other foreign workers; and the new regulation granted them "all advantages of the German Community." These eastern workers no longer will have to wear special badges of dishonor, but are labeled according to their nationality, such as Russian, Ukrainian, Pole, etc.

It is most unlikely that such measures will have any noticeable effect on foreign workers who have come through such terrible sufferings. The Nazi labor leader Ley recently exhorted the German population to respect the foreigners in their midst. At the same time the Gestapo terror against the non-German workers has reached an all time high. In many Berlin factories the German workers are in a minority and the danger of spontaneous revolt terrifies the Nazis. Jacques Doriot, French traitor, is said to be charged with supervision of his suffering countrymen. Russian emigrés have been trained to spy on their unfortunate compatriots. Turnover in personnel, due to arrest, execution and escape, has slowed down production. German workers are cooperating with their foreign colleagues, in part to acquire an alibi before the eventual allied occupation of the Reich, but also frequently out of a genuine anti-nazi feeling they have conserved throughout eleven years of nazi terror.

The army of foreign workers in Germany will be energized by every bastion in Hitler's fortress that falls to the Allies. Slaves, they have never accepted their slavery. They await the moment to spring to arms, unite with allied paratroopers, and take their positions for the final stroke against the jailers of Europe.

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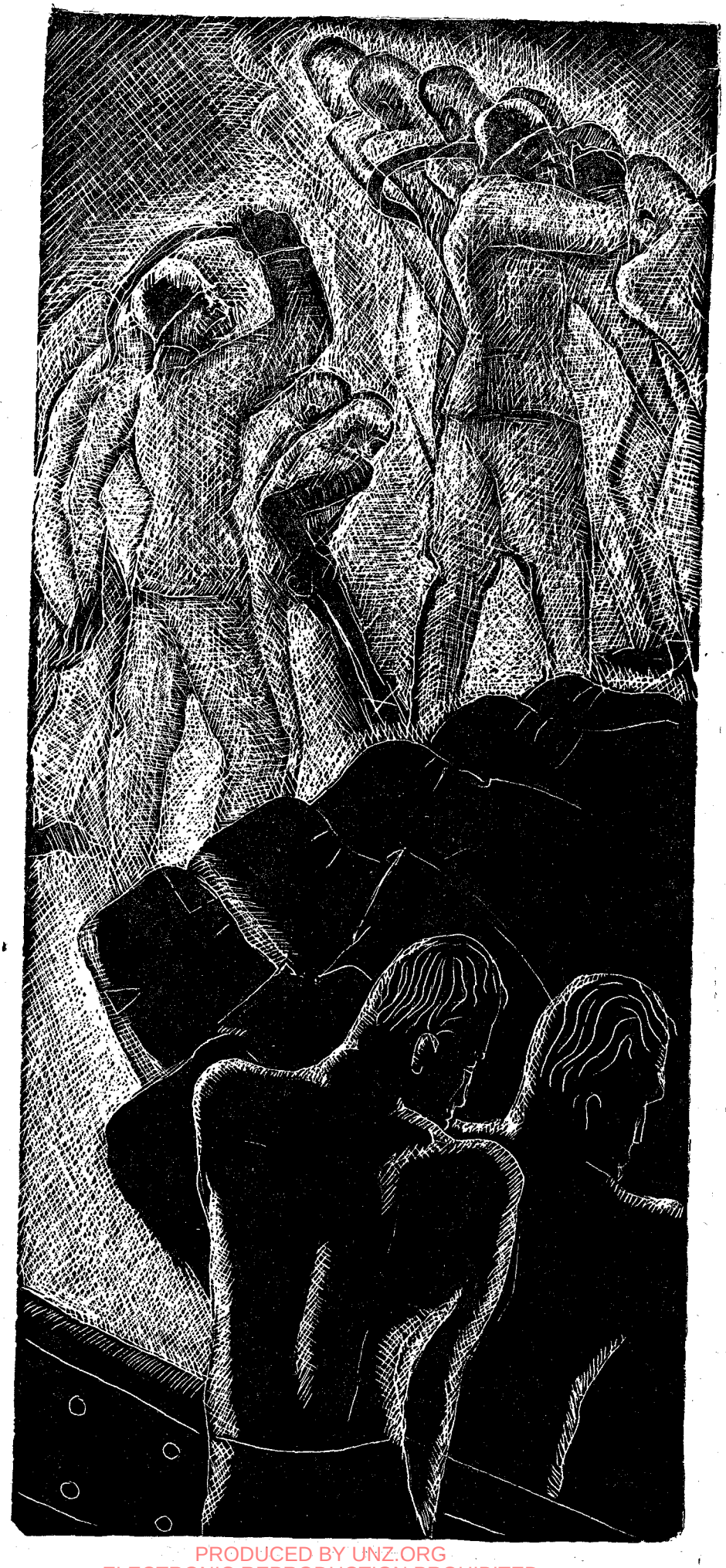

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An Eye-Witness Report on

Jewish Palestine

By

NAHUM GOLDMANN

THAT the world is small is no longer merely a banal observation. Having just returned from Palestine, I find it a fact the implications of which we have just begun to realize. It is probably one of the largest single facts in determining the shape and character of the postwar world and must be so reckoned with if it is to be a world of peace and security.

To go to Palestine today is a great spiritual and emotional experience for anyone, but especially for a Jew. After five years of unparalleled tragedy, five years of reading each day news more dreadful than the day before of the destruction and extermination and massacre of millions of Jews, one finds the Jewish community in Palestine something in the nature of a miracle. Not only has Jewish Palestine escaped destruction during the war; it has grown economically, socially, culturally and politically.

If it had come to pass that the Nazis at the terrible time of El Alamein had invaded Palestine and destroyed the Jews, it would have meant, as it did in Europe, not only the destruction of centuries of Jewish achievements, of great traditions of the Jewish past and strong positions of its present, it would have spelled the destruction for many generations of the last and greatest hope for a Jewish future.

Not having been in Palestine for seven years, what I found there was unbelievable. Even to a layman the expansion in industry both in variety and volume of output is astonishing. During the war Jewish Palestine was the main agricultural center for all the armies of the United Nations in the Middle East. And even with the withdrawing of the armies from that part of the world, Palestine industry is on a firm and solid foundation. Agricultural development has expanded and the standard of living in the colonies has risen. Whatever money is sent to Palestine from abroad is expended to increase the absorptive capacity of the country to enable it to accommodate the surviving Jews in Europe who will go there. Jewish Palestine is self-supporting.

The courage and heroism of Palestinian Jews in this war is a fact that has been recognized. The story of their selflessness and suffering in rescuing Jews from the Nazi-held lands is a chapter still unwritten. Unrest and friction in Palestine today are the ages-old symptom of a mature and freedom-loving people who have definitely reached the self-government stage.

Not less impressive than the economic development is the cultural growth. The old designation of the Jewish people as The People of the Book is still accurate. These little more than half a million Jews support ten or eleven daily Hebrew newspapers and dozens of monthly and weekly periodicals. The Jewish worker whether in the town or in an agricultural settlement, reads not only his own party organ, but two or three daily papers. More than 600 books were published and printed in the last ten months, and had it not been for the shortage of paper, which is strictly

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rationed, there would have been twice as many. The concerts and theatre also indicate a high level of appreciation and a discriminating taste.

But Jews have built up trade and industry in other countries. Despite the new forms of agricultural settlement, which, I believe, will serve as patterns for many other countries, and the pulsating cultural life, the real miracle of Palestine lies neither in industrial, agricultural nor cultural achievement. The most significant and amazing accomplishment of Jewish Palestine is the creation of a new type of Jew, who could have emerged in no other country.

The essential element of a Jewish Commonwealth is Jews who can run it. It is not the statesmen of the world who will make Palestine a Jewish Commonwealth, nor the promises of the great powers to create the necessary conditions for it. These are imperative, but they are not enough. Only Jews can make Palestine a Jewish Commonwealth. As long as a community has not reached the political and social maturity necessary to manage its own affairs, then all the promises in the world cannot make it autonomous.

Feeling of Freedom

WHAT are the essential characteristics of a mature people who want to become independent and autonomous? The most elementary and basic is that the people should consider itself to be free and independent. The most striking experience of a visitor in Palestine is this feeling of freedom. There is no country where the feeling of freedom is greater than among Palestine Jewry, certainly no country where Jews have so natural and deep a sense of freedom.

In Palestine, there are Jews, especially of the younger generation, who know there is hostility to Jews, but they accept it as a natural phenomenon, as it is among other people who must suffer the dislike or hostility of their neighbors. But there is no sense of psychological inferiority. These people live their lives as do all normal people rooted in their own country.

There is another characteristic a community must possess before it can come before the world asking to run its own affairs. It must have a certain amount of collective discipline. No people not mature enough to have a minimum of collective national and political discipline can be entrusted with self-government. From afar, it had appeared that there was a great deal of disunity among Palestine Jews. At the National Assembly elections a few months ago, thirty-four parties had their own candidates. But when it comes to essential problems, when vital national interests are at stake, this community is more united than any in the world.

For example, the war. Here were 550,000 Jews, without any legal obligation to fight in the British Army or contribute toward the war effort. Within the terms of international law, the Mandatory Power has no authority to draft citizens of mandated countries. Great Britain observed this stipulation well—too well. There was a time when the British Administration did not even want Jews to enlist, fearing it might antagonize the Arabs. The policy of appeasing Arabs, especially when the German Armies were in North Africa, was so vigorously pursued that the British military and civil authorities did everything they could to discourage voluntary Jewish enlistment.

After the first two years of war the situation changed. The Jewish Agency took the position that this was their war as well as England's and appealed for volunteers. Thirty thousand Jewish men and women enlisted as a response to this appeal, a percentage for which there is no parallel—almost twelve per cent of the population volunteered without any legal obligation, any draft law, only because of the moral authority of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. The recent establishment of the Jewish Brigade by Great Britain is significant in many ways, but not least as a tribute to the splendid military record of the boys of Jewish Palestine who served in the British Army.

That the Jewish people which for 2,000 years has exercised no political authority has been able to establish a de facto Jewish government in Palestine, the power of which lies only in moral authority, is little short of a miracle.

This Jewish community also has a tremendous sense of collective responsibility.

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When thousands of orphaned Jewish children came to Palestine from Poland via Russia and Teheran, there was intense rivalry among the Jewish colonies, each wanting to play host to the largest number of the children. When it was decided to colonize the Negev (the south), the Jewish Agency appealed for volunteers. The Negev is nearly one-third the area of Palestine, an empty country with nothing but a few thousand roving Bedouins. Settling the Negev means traveling for fifty or sixty miles along the desert, where there are no villages, no Jews, no Arabs—just nothing.

There is a colony of sixty Jewish boys and girls who have been there for two or three years, completely isolated. If they were to be attacked, no one could save them; if they were to starve to death no one could feed them. Yet they stay there and have created an oasis in the midst of the desert. And the moral fibre of Jewish Palestine is such that when volunteers for this kind of settlement are called for, a thousand volunteer when fifty are needed.

Vanguard for Jews

JEWISH PALESTINE regards itself as the vanguard for other Jews for whom they have opened the way and who will follow. In no Jewish community in the world was there a reaction to the tragedy in Europe comparable to that of the Jewish community in Palestine. They contributed proportionately more in money for rescuing Jews than anyone else. Beyond that, and now it can be told, dozens of young Palestinian boys and girls have been going into Nazi-occupied countries to ascertain the whereabouts of Jews, to establish contact with suffering communities, to bring them a ray of hope and to smuggle them out, when they could.

Many were captured, tortured and killed by the Nazis. For everyone killed, ten offered to follow. The time will come, after the victory is won, when their story will be told as one of the heroic tales of the war. It won't be easy to write, for they don't talk about it. The new Jew in Palestine believes in doing things, not talking about them. He believes in actions, not resolutions, and believes in ideals only when they become realities. He measures movements and men

not on the basis of their programs, but of their achievements.

It is natural, then, that Palestine Jewry considers itself to have stood the test—that what it has made of itself economically, socially, morally and spiritually, entitles it to autonomy. They do not want a foreign regime. And this has nothing to do with the fact that it is British. With all their faults, the British are a great and noble people and no other mandatory power would have done better in Palestine than they.

The trouble with the Administration is not that it is British, but that it is not Jewish. In the beginning when it was doubtful whether an inexperienced and dispersed people such as the Jews could build a state, it was natural that there should be a colonial administration. But Palestine Jewry has reached a stage where it no longer has confidence in the moral authority or legality of a foreign regime. Whenever a country reaches this stage, friction is bound to arise. That is the anomaly in Palestine and the source of all the trouble.

This friction sometimes takes the form of irresponsible and mad acts, such as the terrorist group. There are reasons which explain the terrorists, but to understand all is not to excuse all. We do not excuse their acts, which today represent perhaps the most deadly danger to the future of the Jewish National Home. As far as the overwhelming majority of Palestine Jewry is concerned, this voluntary government which they recognize—the Jewish Agency for Palestine—will take every possible measure to stop the terrorists.

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This small group is a frenzied expression of the fundamental anomaly of Jewish Palestine and it is a situation which cannot continue. Either a regime will be established in Palestine which takes into account the psychological, moral, social and political maturity of the Jewish community, and Jewish Palestine will be permitted to run its own affairs, or there will be permanent friction. This is not a threat. It is an analysis of existing conditions. The same thing which happened in America when the War of Independence was fought and that happened in many other countries when they reached a certain stage of maturity, is bound to happen in Palestine.

One word about the Arabs. It is the considered judgment of the leaders of the Zionist movement based on long experience that a definite decision on the part of the United Nations to make Palestine Jewish will not be seriously opposed by the Arabs. They have demonstrated this in Alexandretta, in Iraq and in Syria. That the Zionist program guarantees full civil, political and religious rights to all the inhabitants of Palestine has been stated so often, it needs no repetition. The Arabs at the last Peace Conference agreed to the decision to reconstitute a Jewish National Home in Palestine. There is no real reason to suppose they will oppose it now, if they know the United Nations are determined to make it part of the postwar settlement. History, international law, the need of the Jews and of the world to solve the Jewish problem once and for all, point to the inevitability of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.

Forty years ago when a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine was an academic question, the discussion as to whether it should or should not be established had some validity. But today in the light of the facts, the discussion appears to be held in a vacuum. There is, psychologically and morally, a self-governing Jewish Commonwealth, but it cannot go on unless it is formally granted governmental status. Up to now it has been operating as a private agency. But if governmental powers are not granted, neither colonization, nor expansion in industry and agriculture can proceed. A point has been reached where there will either be a Jewish Commonwealth or the entire development of Jewish Palestine will be hampered. De facto the Jewish Commonwealth is established. It must be recognized by all nations.

Excerpts from the Program of FREE WORLD

1. Establishment of a permanent world organization whose main duties will consist of securing:

   A. International economic, political and educational cooperation among all peace-loving peoples.

   B. Prevention of war by peaceful settlement of conflicts, or, if necessary, by common action of all members of the world organization against aggressors.

2. Application on a world-wide basis of the principle of equality for all men, without distinction as to race, color or creed.

3. Respect for human dignity, and freedom from arbitrary police action.

4. Increase by national, or, if necessary, by international action, of living standards, particularly in securing minimum health, food, housing and educational facilities everywhere.

5. Freedom of travel and of visiting freely any country for a period of at least three months. (In order to prevent traveling of criminals against common law there should be an international file of such persons—but not of political derelicts. This provision, of course, excludes fascists from the freedom of travel because their program stands for murder and torture.)

6. Establishment of fully valid United Nations passports for displaced persons.

7. Complete destruction not only of the Axis regimes, but of the fascist and nazi ideas everywhere.

8. Continuation of the United Nations into the peace.

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LONDON LETTER

Britain's Philosophy Today—Progress

By MARY SEATON

IF you landed in Britain today, how would you find us? I think you would feel that we are living with (and under) tremendous pressure. Tension and political conflict are increasing each day. You would decide that individual tempers are much shorter than in peacetime. You would sense a taut weariness, a thrust-down grief in some people; but you would also, I believe, note that we have become far more friendly. We would be glad to talk to you without awaiting introductions.

Above all you would discover—especially if you traveled about the provinces—that we are consciously moving toward a climax: the climax of victory, peace and the immense job of rebuilding our blitzed cities and planning employment for our returning fighters.

Despite the weariness, the grief, the wondering which infects almost every family after five years of war you might be impressed, as other visiting Americans have recently been, by the fact that this sense of climax is engendering a vitality of its own. Not just a last-lap effort but a genuine vitality which, if we ourselves ever seriously considered it, would probably surprise us. It suggests that we shall this time retain the mental energy to win the peace after militarily winning the war.

Having written this I ask myself: am I, as a progressive, biased by wishful thinking? I don't think so. I have been comparing the 1918 newspaper files with today's and am impressed by the far greater realism and the more widespread interest they reflect in public affairs.

Wherever you listen—in a Whitehall pub, in a crowded long-distance train carriage, even in a south-coast hotel lounge which in prewar days was the retreat of the complacent—you hear interspersed with personal chatter some comment or other which indicates that we have as a people matured.

War has roused us—mentally, emotionally, physically. The radio has projected the human meaning of battles such as Arnhem into our minds and our hearts and I think that neither their scars nor significance will ever be eradicated.

If all this sounds pretentious let me quote the recent remark of a London charwoman, who has twice been doodle-bombed and whose son by coincidence is serving in the same regiment as the son of the woman who employs her. The two had an argument the other day, and the char, who had been brusquely spoken to, said: "You know, Mum, times are changing. After the war your sort and ours will have to work together more. We'd better get used to it now."

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A new Britain is being born. The duke-dustman equality in the recent Social Security White Paper is symptomatic. So is the growing self-confidence of the workers who have, throughout the war, shared with employers on factory joint-production committees the direction of output. So is the decrease in servility in agricultural areas, where progressives have been elected to Parliament despite the local landlords' conservative pressure.

Whether you, as a visiting American, would notice all this I can't say. Probably, if you just remained in London's Savoy Hotel as some Americans do, you might not. The changing spirit of a people is not easy to describe, and I am conscious that all this may sound rather glib. We have of course our share of war profiteers and stiff, solid folk whom no experiences can really move. They are the dead wood which burdens every nation.

But war itself inspires its own peculiar philosophy—with roots reaching right into the sort of people who might perhaps grin if you mentioned to them any such word as "philosophy." And in Britain our war-born philosophy is composed of all these things I've been mentioning. A philosophy which can, I think, be summed up in one word: *progress.*

* * * * *

I'VE dwelt somewhat fully on this because it is a tremendous factor in calculating Britain's future. There are those who say that this vitality, this demand for progress may disintegrate in peacetime with the relief of men returning home, the scramble for jobs, boom, disillusion and what you like. But others claim that it will lead to legislation which will indeed change Britain.

Whatever happens, this is the atmosphere which will pervade the arena when the scrap between capitalism and socialism really begins. As I write many are wondering how soon that will be. Mr. Churchill has just provoked eager curiosity by announcing that he himself will move the Bill to prolong the life of Parliament another year—its tenth. Hitherto these Bills have been moved by the Home Secretary. The only reason, suspect M.P.'s, why Mr. Churchill has taken on this job is that he intends to make some special pronouncement about the General Election.

Churchill is known to be opposed to a quick "coupon" election. Even extreme Leftists who distrust his foreign policy and appeasement of Franco and other ex-Fascists have some faith that he will use his authority to prevent reactionaries trying to "pull a fast one."

The Left is still far from ready for an Election. It is split, disintegrated and groping toward a unity which may prove organizationally difficult. Labor is planning to fight on an out-and-out Socialist program and has already decided to contest 550 of our 640 seats. It will meet in secret in December to finalize its strategy and decide whether to permit the affiliation of groups such as Common Wealth.

Labor has, claim its Left-wing critics, grown up in its forty-four years into an extremely effective and powerful machine. It has produced first-rate administrators like Bevin, Morrison, Dalton, Cripps who are capable of power. But can Labor, ask its critics, recapture its spirit, its early idealism and above all democratize its machine? That is where the inclusion of groups such as Common Wealth, which has spread right through the country in two years and has branches as far-flung as Calcutta, will prove invaluable.

One indication that Labor will broaden its vision is this: Cripps is to return to its fold.

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IF there is friction in the Left so there is in the Right. The Tories are split on the issue of compensation to property-owners for land requisitioned for replanning under the Town and Country (Blitz) Planning Bill. So split are they, in fact, that 58 of them including Liberal-Nationals rebelled against the Bill, which Socialists claim is in any case ineffective.

The Tories are themselves repudiating their worst reactionaries and the internal clash which Tory Reform leader Quintin Hogg hinted to me some time ago is drawing daily nearer.

Meanwhile the Tories have also started lobbying against the Social Security White Paper. So it seems Beveridge has reached Parliament just at the right time. The

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White Paper, as I said last month, embodies many of his proposals. Progressives are waiting with interest to see what he will do: but some of his friends fear he may be a disappointment as a politician. Like your own Henry Wallace, he is not the sort of man who masters the craft of politics in its purely technical sense.

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MEANWHILE the Trade Union Congress has taken decisions which clarify its future function. At its seventy-sixth Conference at Blackpool recently it agreed that a World Trades Union Conference is to be called in January. It condemned the Government's Indian policy.

At home it endorsed the far-reaching plans of the General Council for nationalizing and controlling key industries. It called for a public inquiry into cartels and British trusts. It decided, for the first time, its attitude toward the German problem in conjunction with the Soviet Trade Unions. This—despite criticisms here of extreme Leftists—was not one of pure Vansittartism. One of the biggest cheers of the Congress went to the Chairman Ebby Edwards when he called also for the punishment of "those who assisted Nazi Germany to wage war either by diplomacy or trading in materials and instruments of destruction."

Finally the T.U.C. posed your own A.F. of L. a problem by inviting American Unions to prepare for this world Conference. The Russians will be there and we are wondering: Is there any chance that the A.F. of L. will at the last abandon its refusal to collaborate with them?

* * * * *

FROM all this you will gather that Britain is an exciting, swift-moving country right now. We of the Left are in continual touch with the resistance movements in Europe and even now are anxiously watching events in Spain. As the London charwoman said, times are indeed changing. In closing let me quote this comment made at a London luncheon party last week. Priestley, Richard Acland, Tom Wintringham and other progressives were discussing their speeches at a forthcoming public meeting. In a lull following cocktails a woman brightly remarked: "I haven't heard a doodle-bug today. Have you?"

From Our London Correspondent

BRITISH Progressives' alarm at Churchill's Foreign Office policy in Greece and Belgium is now reaching crisis pitch. Public meetings are being organized in London, and various leading unions, including factory workers and Fleet Street journalists are drafting protests. The popular demand is "Hands off Greece." British bayonets must not be used, Britains insist, to force reactionary government on peoples of Europe at the expense of Resistance leaders who were the spearhead of the anti-nazi struggle. Throughout the country the unpolitically minded are still bewildered. Typical comment overheard in shopping queues is that of the housewife who said: "A few months ago we were praising the Greeks, now we are running them down. What does it all mean?"

The Reactionaries reply: "These quarrelsome Greeks are putting our boys in danger." But the flood of Left Wing fact-revealing propaganda now being launched should dispel the bewilderment. All Progressives here are agreed that public and parliamentary pressure alone can halt the ruinous Churchill policy, and they are heartened by American protests. Meanwhile the Greek Progressives in London are in contact with Labor, Common Wealth and radical members of Parliament.

A secondary issue now being most discussed is Minister Bevin's Wages Bill which will prove vitally important in easing switchover from war to peace production. It pegs the wages of some fifteen million workers for the next five years (up till present only miners had this guarantee) and restores the workers' right to strike and employers' right to lock out workers. The Bill should have an easy passage.

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Progress of the Struggle

by NORMAN ANGELL

FREE PRESS AND FREE MINDS

AMONG the causes which this magazine has systematically promoted as part of the problem of international understanding, is the cause of freedom of press communication, the promulgation of a press Bill of Rights, embodying the principle expressed in the recent concurrent resolution of Congress. That resolution calls for "the world-wide right of interchange of news by news-gathering and distributing agencies . . . without discrimination as to sources, distribution rates or charges."

The American Society of Newspaper Editors has supplemented this by expressing the view that "any government or private monopoly of the media of information is inimical to the public interest and incompatible with freedom of expression and competition of ideas on which a well informed public opinion is based." The Society opposes the right "of any government, organization or person: (a) to discriminate against any media of information; (b) to infringe upon freedom of information or expression; (c) to place any barriers, technical, political, legal or economic, against the free exchange of information between the peoples of the world; (d) to censor information in time of peace, except for obscenity or fraud." This is entirely in keeping with what so many writers in this magazine have urged in the course of the campaign for freedom of information.

A free press is the assurance of the Right to Know, the right freely to discuss what we know. The right involves of course the right of an organized political opposition. Without this Right to Know the facts and discuss them, and by so doing to form a political opposition, democracy is a sham, however elaborate or pretentious the constitution which may seem to defend it. With this one right fully assured—and used—almost any constitution, whatever its formal defects, can be made the instrument of effective democracy.

But for this right to be operative, to be effectively used, a condition is necessary, as Sumner Welles among others has just pointed out. Mere access to information is not of itself enough for the busy public which makes up the mass of voters. He rightly insists that in the drive of modern life the facts must be interpreted impartially, authoritatively, alike to Congress, to the press and to the public.

Welles supports, for instance, the suggestion that the Secretary of State or one of his policy-making assistants should periodically answer questions regarding foreign policy on the floor of the House or of the Senate and should hold frequent off-the-record conferences with representatives of the American press and radio. His suggestion reminds us that there are two entirely distinct aspects of this problem of public information.

The distinction is illustrated by a remark once made to the editor of a newspaper who wanted to explain to his readers the mysteries of currency, the efforts to stabilize international exchanges. He complained to a friend that, though he had gone to "the best men in the country," he could not get an article which he, the editor, could understand.

The friend said, "When you speak of the 'best men,' whom do you mean?" In reply to which the editor gave a considerable list of eminent economists and currency experts. The friend objected, "But all these men are economic and currency experts. What you needed was an Expert in Explanation, not in economics or currency. The Expert in Explanation would, of course, have had to get his knowledge from the economists and currency experts.

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But two very distinct functions are involved—research, the attainment of knowledge, is one; the clarification and explanation to the non-expert is another. The fact that a man knows a subject does not at all mean that he can explain it."

* * *

THE Expert in Explanation must know not merely the subject which he ventures to explain, but the nature of the public mind; its resistance to facts that it does not like, which happen, it may be, to collide with pre-existing prejudices or prepossessions. The explainer must know how to get over or around these obstacles. And nowhere is this so much needed as in the realm of foreign policy, with its entanglements and pitfalls in the shape of rival doctrines, social, economic, political.

Merely to assume that if only people had access to the facts they would therefore draw the right conclusions, or that the more facts are available, the greater the chance of right conclusion, is of course denied by a multitude of commonplace examples in the daily life about us. The press of the United States is entirely free to give the public the facts available for the formation of conclusions about domestic questions like those debated in an election. Nevertheless, the public is deeply divided as to the conclusions that should be drawn from the facts so freely available, divided not merely as between Democrat and Republican, but as between groups within those parties, not only as between labor and capital, but as between parties within organized labor itself, to mention only a few of the divisions.

In the last twenty years the American and British press have sent to Russia scores of observers and investigators. Such information as was available, was available to all the observers and visitors alike. But we know that they returned differing bitterly as to the broad truth about things Russian. The differences here arise largely on matters of social and economic doctrine; about the true answer to the question, What is the result of the great Russian experiment? Two investigators looking at the same facts at the same period of time will give two diametrically opposite replies.

What is true of the Russian problem is true of other conflicts. We say commonly that peoples could understand each other if only they had more opportunity of coming into contact with each other, of getting at each other's views. But the very worst and bitterest misunderstandings are between people who see each other every day, who can quite easily get at the "facts," as in the differences between Catholic and Protestant concerning the justice of a separate government for Northern Ireland; or in Palestine concerning the rights and wrongs of the rival contentions of Jews and Arabs; in the United States concerning the rights of the Negro; the conflict in India between Jinnah and Gandhi; or between half a dozen political parties in Italy, or between pro-Russian and anti-Russian Poles in Poland, between isolationist and internationalist in America, and between the views of January and those of June.

If in 1920 the American public took a view of foreign affairs the exact contrary of that which it seems to be taking in 1944; if in 1920 they were either opposed (or quite indifferent) to Wilsonian views to which in 1944 they seem to be quite warmly favorable, it is certainly not because the American press had not access to the facts in 1920 (Wilson ruined his health trying to give them the facts).

The essential facts were just as available then as they are now, indeed more accessible, because the facts are infinitely more complicated now than they were then. The explanation lies in a change of mood; lies, that is, much more in subjective forces within the minds of the public than in any failure to provide the necessary information.

No problem is more worth the attention of the modern psychologist than this: What makes a great public blind to truths which are often so simple as to be all but self-evident? Merely to add to the store of information certainly won't help. The German people were perhaps the most schooled, the most "educated," the most encyclopedic, and, in that sense, the most informed, people in the world. The "learning" of the typical German professor was terrifying. That learning, alike of professor and people, did not prevent a political stupidity so monstrous as to have placed this

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highly educated people outside the pale of civilization.

One compares the learning of some German philosopher or professor who can read with equal ease in half a dozen languages, with the political wisdom of an Abraham Lincoln, whose reading was confined to dozens where the German's embraced hundreds of books. The British are perhaps, relatively to the Germans, an illiterate, and relatively to the quick-witted French, a slow-witted and stupid people. It is just possible, however, that history will accord to the British a certain soundness of political judgment, a quality of political wisdom, which in the light of events will compare favorably to that revealed in some of the continental countries of Europe.

What makes sound political judgment? Unless we can in some measure answer that question, a mere increase in quantity of information made available by that freedom of the press which is so rightly demanded, will not ensure our peace.

* * *

OUR problems then are not fundamentally military, or even political or economic. They are at bottom problems of the human spirit, of the working of the human mind; of the way men come to think and feel, the attitude they adopt to each other, especially when organized into nations or into groups with differing creeds. In other words, ours is a problem of education. But the kind of education which produces understanding and workable social attitudes is not merely a matter of erudition, of gathering up a mass of facts.

We have to know things, it is true; but still more do we have to understand them, and understanding involves a moral attitude, a readiness to recognize that there may be something in the other fellow's standpoint; that we are not infallible; that we need the correction of contrary opinion and that there rests upon us an obligation to restrain our natural tempers, intolerances and arrogancies.

Have we yet learned the real lesson of Germany? Here you have a people whose physical makeup is exactly like ours. Their

glands, blood, tissues, the gray matter of their skulls, do not differ at all from ours. They have behind them a great culture. They have shown themselves great in music, in physical science, in theological speculation. They played an immense part in the religious Reformation. Yet that people with that background and education, racially allied, physically identical with ourselves, have developed a way of thought, a collective mind capable of approving abominations that make our blood run cold.

The real lesson of the German phenomenon is the degree—the unspeakable and incredible degree—to which learned men can fail to understand, and ordinary decent folk can become in a short period human monsters. Let us face this dreadful fact that if our minds become twisted and debauched (by, say the single desire for warlike power as the one condition of national survival), we shall become incapable of forming and maintaining a free and humane society, collectively devoted to welfare.

What is fundamental then in good political judgment is eternal watchfulness upon our way of thought and feeling, particularly in those spheres where our minds have failed us in the past. We must want to get rid of war. But the wanting will be of no use unless we face with decent

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humility our liability to error in choosing the means; unless we recognize that fanatical proclamation of half understood slogans won't suffice. It is much easier to persuade men to die for a principle like national independence, or democracy, or liberty than it is to persuade them to observe the conditions which alone can make it workable.

We cannot make it workable merely by approving some master plan to be adopted at some grand general peace settlement in the conviction that afterwards we need do nothing more about it. Part of the price of peace is to recognize that to get it we must stay on the job, adjusting things from day to day, year to year, determining to be master of our own natures when they are affected by such deep emotions as those of nationalism, patriotism, or innate suspicion of foreigners.

Understanding other human beings is not like a scientist's understanding of matter. The scientist does not get angry with the molecule or the atom when he wants to find out how it behaves; but we do so readily and so soon get angry, not merely with the foreigner when his conduct enrages us, but with the other political party, with those who differ from us in opinion. If you meet a man who shows you clearly that your favorite theory, perhaps your favorite hate, has no real basis in fact, he has done you a very great service. If you were a physicist dealing with matter, you would rejoice, but do you rejoice when your friend has proved you wrong about the nature of your own mind or opinion? You do not. You really feel like giving him a sound kick in the pants.

We must have something more than mere tolerance of those who disagree or differ, of those who live on the other side of the frontier. We must realize fully that we need them, need their contrary view to correct our own, need their different experience, need their help in defending ourselves against criminal violence, need their cooperation for economic and social betterment. Above all, we need an almost religious sense of the obligation to be intelligent, the obligation, that is, to make the effort to understand the other fellow.

The one point which emerges concerning the nature of our social education, the education that comes from the schools, the universities, the press, the radio, the film, the church pulpit, the trade union educational committee, is this: that we must in the future stress much more than we have done in the past the element of social, economic, political and international interdependence. Understanding of our dependence on each other could and should come out of the way in which we teach history, or the working of our society, or the working of our minds.

We need to emphasize more than we have done, not merely that if our neighbor lives in such squalor that he gets infectious diseases, his more prosperous neighbor gets them too; that if the average voter's mind is so ill trained that he forms an ignorant, passionate, vindictive electorate, supporting a wrong policy instead of right, then everybody suffers; that if he is so ill educated that he prefers the bad newspaper to the good, then he gives great power to demagogy, to those who would exploit the sensational, the hysterical, the vindictive, the wrong-headed. We need still to make clear that we cannot have foreign trade that is worth anything unless foreigners are prosperous, and that the more trade foreigners have, the more we can have; that we cannot defend our own right to national life unless we are prepared to defend that right for others also, for the simple reason that we need those others in our own defense.

Now the fact is that we have not developed in those forms of education I have mentioned, this particular truth of interdependence. We are far more apt to develop the competitive side so that we come to believe that the store of national wealth is something limited in quantity and that if workers get high wages, employers must get less, that if some foreign nation captures markets, we lose them. And nobody really believes that we need foreign nations in order to make our own national defense secure.

Public understanding of any complicated question can be immensely helped by bringing into the foreground those facts which are *key* facts, those bits of knowledge which tend to explain all the other bits.

Once in the old days at Monte Carlo, watching the gambling, an Englishman

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Since FREE WORLD began its symposium on Freedom of News and Communication in the issue of August 1944, this subject has been widely discussed officially and unofficially in many countries. FREE WORLD's first article in the series was by James L. Fly, then Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission. Later contributions were by Kent Cooper, president of the Associated Press (September), Christopher Chancellor, general manager of Reuters, British News Agency (September), Hugh Baillie, president of United Press (November). All these articles have contributed to a better understanding by both governments and peoples, of the conditions that can further the cause of world peace by providing unbiased information in the postwar world. John Grierson's "Democracy's Propaganda" in this present issue of FREE WORLD deals with still another phase of the topic.

was approached by a familiar Monte Carlo parasite, who tried to sell a "system" by the aid of which, with capital of a hundred francs—so ran the sales talk—the bank could be broken. The Englishman, in explaining afterward why he so abruptly declined the generous offer, said: "I am no mathematician, and the fellow had long tables of figures which seemed to prove quite completely that his was indeed a water-tight system. I don't doubt that if I had examined his statistics, I should have been convinced—disastrously. But I pointed out to him that there was one fact about his system which was all I needed to know: this fact, that he wanted to sell it for a hundred francs. I explained that, in the face of that fact, I was not interested.

Ever since the beginnings of Lend-Lease there has been a school of thought in the United States which insists that the British are using Lend-Lease illegitimately to promote British foreign trade, and anyone who travels much over the country encounters endless stories of how this is being done through a well organized "conspiracy." The present writer, no later than this last month, has had more than one angry question, arising out of some story that Lend-Lease material had been bought by a friend in Bermuda or Benares.

Yet there is a quite simple fact which disposes of these stories: Britain's foreign trade in the last few years has declined very nearly seventy-five per cent. She possesses today less than one-third of the foreign trade which she had before Lend-Lease was operating. Obviously, therefore, the "conspiracy" is completely failing. The wide dissemination among the public of just one or two facts of that character would do more to offset rumor and falsehood than the pages of statistics (necessary though they are) which have recently been published by the British Government in its White Paper relating to the war effort of Great Britain.

As a means of bringing home to the American public what some of the British figures really mean, a very simple method should be applied: in order to realize what equivalent costs and losses would be if suffered by America, the British figures should be multiplied by three, since the British population is a third of that of the United States. Great Britain, in civilian killed and wounded, quite apart from the armed forces, as the result of standing up to the blitz for five years, has lost 136,000. This British casualty figure would therefore be equivalent to an American loss in civilian killed and wounded of over 400,000. Britain's total casualties of 733,000 would, translated into American terms, be equivalent to a loss to the United States of considerably over 2,000,000. If we deem —which we ought to do—that this war began in August 1914 and recall that British losses in killed alone in the first phase only were about 1,000,000, we begin to get an idea of the real meaning of the British figures.

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A Chinese Symbol

By
FABIAN CHOW

From China's war front to Free World comes this moving account of the battle for the recapture of Tengchung, key to the northern portion of the Burma Road. In the incredible sacrifice and indomitable will of troops like these the true greatness of modern China stands revealed.

MAN is so adept in the shorthand of symbols, frequently he employs them without much conception of the meaning that lies behind. Thus the words "Tengchung Taken," wedged in among tall headlines in newspapers thousands of miles away, must carry only the vaguest notion of the deeds of nameless men, who recorded their will to freedom on the slippery mountain approaches to this ancient walled city.

As a war correspondent, I followed close on the heels of the Chinese Expeditionary Force that captured this key city, freeing territory where the Chinese flag had not flown for seven years, and where the enemy had been in total mastery for two years, two months and eighteen days. By their victories, these troops helped to bring closer the day when war equipment and supplies can flow again over the Burma Road, so that China may fight on.

The unit whose activities I reported was the first to bring mountain guns over forbidding ledges, which hung precipitously several thousand feet above dense, rain-

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dripping mountain jungle, and over thin trickles of muddy or rocky paths fit only for sure fearless feet. Somehow, the guns were finally hauled up ten thousand feet to the top. Many a time the heavy parts settled in knee-deep mud on the narrow dangerous mountain trails. Often despite the combined effort of as many as 100 men, they would refuse to budge.

Exhaustion overtook 20 per cent of the men who hauled the guns. Many fell seriously ill. A few died on the spot.

Braving such hardships, the unit was the first to reach the outskirts of Tengchung, hotly pursuing the enemy.

Its crowning success was the capture of the top of Laifeng Hill. The enemy, well entrenched and prepared for the attack, was determined to repel the Chinese. Even the most optimistic military observers predicted that the success of the Chinese troops would take at least a week. The unit achieved it in a few hours.

The enemy's defense system was elaborate. All four knolls atop the hill were strewn with obstacles and defenses. The main fortifications were surrounded by communication trenches, machine gun and rifle pits and intermingled barbed wire entanglements. On the top and on the slopes, altogether 21 pillboxes had been built. There were bunkers large enough to hold as many as thirty men at one time.

As I came up the hill from the south, the direction from which the attack had been launched a short time previously, I climbed 100 yards of a 20-degree slope beside a ravine, before reaching the top. There was no trail or path of any kind. A wind was blowing as I inched my way up, carefully putting down half a foot, for there was only room for that, on trodden grass roots here and there. Before I stepped on these precarious footholds, I tested once or twice with my feet to see whether they were strong enough to support my weight and whether I would slip. As I struggled painfully upward, short of breath, I had to claw for handholds. I was thinking that if the wind blew harder, I might be thrown off balance and roll down into eternity.

The battle of Laifeng Hill was like the climax to a terrifying dream. Only two days before that I had crossed the 10,000-foot Kaolikung mountains. The stench I smelled on the way still assailed my nostrils. The decomposed carcasses, the skeletons, the shattered foxholes and pillboxes that lay abandoned within arm's reach of narrow slippery trails, the walking wounded struggling their way back through treacherous mountain paths, the civilians carrying rice and ammunition to the front in heavy rain and under the most miserable conditions—all these were still vivid before my eyes. My hands bled because I had sought handholds amidst thorns in my need to cling to anything that would prevent me from falling down or off the steep trails. There was one rainy wind-swept night that I had spent on the top of the mountain on soggy ground under the leaky roof of a falling shanty. There was the hunger and misery that had haunted me relentlessly through another sleepless night when nothing could keep me warm.

I had come to Laifeng Hill's battle area by following one of the so-called easier routes taken by the troops across the Salween and the Kaolikung mountains. It had been a long nightmare, even though I carried neither weapons nor rice as the soldiers had done, nor was beset by the enemy, as they had been.

* * *

THE attack on Laifeng Hill was preceded by an air raid executed by over 40 bombers and fighters of the 14th Air Force. It started at 11 a.m. on July 26. One of the bombs dropped on the hill landed squarely on one of the main fortifications directly on top of one of the four knolls. Among the ten or more Japanese who were blown to bits or buried alive was an enemy commanding officer.

What was left untouched by the air raiders was picked off by Chinese artillery. Under the covering fire, the infantry scaled the steep slope. The first few who stuck out their heads at the end of the sharp ascent were shot down by the Japs holding advance positions. There were about ten of these but one by one they were killed off by hand-grenades and rifle shots.

The four engineers who first reached the top rushed to the barbed wire entanglements which extended from one height to another and kept the trenches and pillboxes protected. Apparently hit by cross

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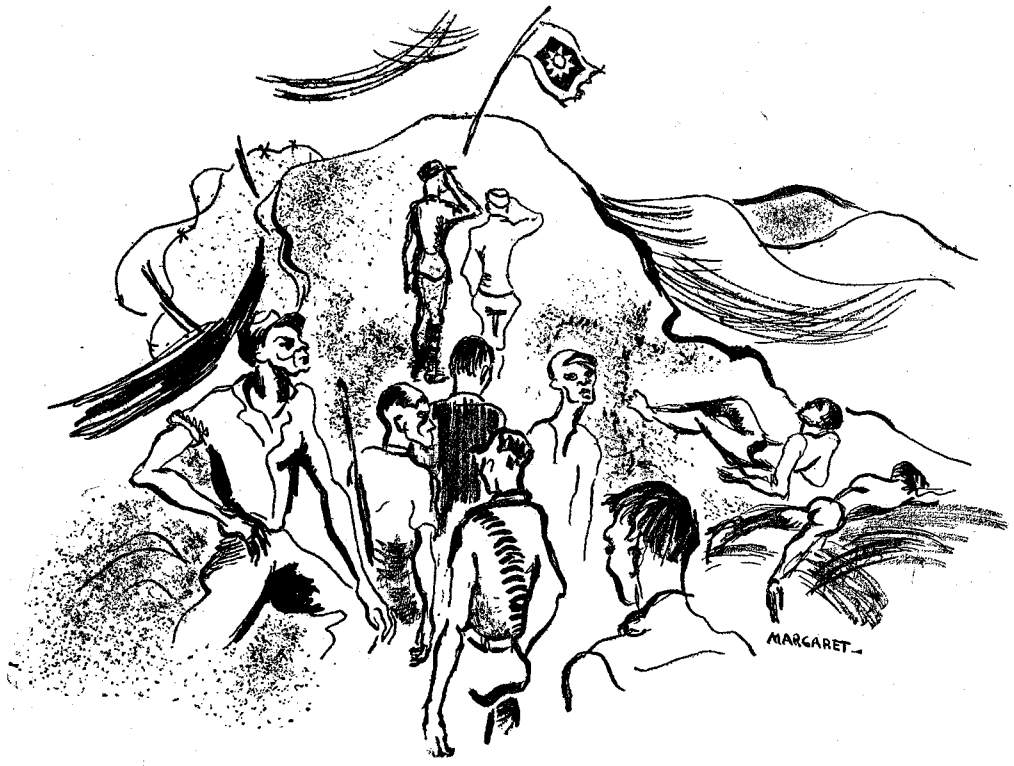

machine gun fire coming from the pillboxes on the two adjacent knolls, two of these men were seen to stagger as they moved forward with the necessary tools to destroy the thorny wires. The remaining two crawled. They were reinforced by others who went up, amidst a rain of shots, for the same job. A breach was thus effected and the soldiers poured through.

None of the first four engineers lived long enough to see that their work had borne fruit. Every one of them died at the side of the entanglements, still firmly grasping his implements. Of the dozen or more engineers who followed, five were killed and all the others wounded.

* * *

THE main attack was directed against the two highest knolls atop Laifeng Hill on the west. The Chinese broke through near the saddle linking the two tops, but advance to the top on both directions was held up by covered machine guns in a trench, that were still spitting fire incessantly. In an effort to break down the resistance, the Chinese threw hand grenades into the trench and the emplacements, but the Japs picked them up quickly and threw them back at the Chinese before they exploded.

Minutes dragged on and tension mounted, while the battle raged indecisively with increased fury. The Chinese were concentrating their main thrust against the knoll to the left, but no headway was made. As anxiety was beginning to creep into the minds of those who were watching the fighting on adjacent hills, the Chinese brought flame-throwers into play. The effect was instantaneous. More than ten Japs were seen running madly out of their posts, screaming at the top of their voices. They were shot down by the Chinese before they could get to the adjacent knoll on the right.

The attack by the infantry was launched at 2 p.m., and shortly before 4 p.m. the first knoll was completely cleared of the Japs. Some of the Chinese pursuing the fleeing enemy had reached the trench of the second knoll. In two and a half hours, the unrelenting assault carried the Chinese to the top of that height. More than 30 Japs were mowed

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down by machine gun fire as they attempted to flee to the third knoll.

Before dusk fell, the Chinese began consolidating their gains. Sporadic rifle and machine gun shots were kept up throughout the night as both sides attempted to snipe at each other. The two knolls the Chinese had captured in the afternoon were higher than the two adjacent ones still held by the Japanese. By midnight, the Chinese officer controlling the two heights telephoned to his headquarters that all was well and that the clearing out of the Japs on the two adjacent knolls would be an easy job the next day.

The firing died away shortly after midnight. But the Chinese were on the alert. As expected, the Japs made before daybreak what had been intended as a surprise counter-attack against the Chinese. The lull was broken all of a sudden by screams and by fire that lit up the darkened heights with ominous and flickering eerie glare.

At 4 a.m., half an hour after the Japs had launched the counter-attack, a frantic telephone call was put through to headquarters. The Japs were gaining ground. They were furiously fighting their way up the second knoll.

"Hold the knoll, or lose your life. Make your choice," the commander snapped back at the officer directing the operations atop the hill.

The battle swayed back and forth. When the first streaks of dawn broke through the sullen sky, the Chinese charged, dispersing the attacking Japanese. "They fled like wild rabbits down the slope, and we just picked our prey and killed them by the dozen," one of the soldiers who took part in the fighting told me. In that counter-attack alone, 60 dead Jap bodies were counted. Few escaped.

Tranquillity returned at 6 a.m. It was a dull grey morning with thick heavy clouds hanging over the hill. They gradually fleeted past, and as the sun came out over the valley the Chinese resumed their attack. With the commanding heights in their hands, the process of liquidating the enemy in his remaining fortified positions proved a much easier one. In three and a half hours, the entire hill fell into Chinese hands.

On the four heights atop the hill, 283 Jap bodies were found. A conservative estimate put the Jap casualties on Laifeng Hill at 600 killed and wounded.

* * *

CAPTURE of the hill eliminated the major obstacle to the assault on the city. The battle was over before 8 a.m. Despite the gentle breeze in the sun-sparkling morning, the air was still acrid with gun powder and the scene was a grim reminder of a bitterly fought battle.

Without any fanfare or martial pomp, with not even a bugle call, a few men, just four or five of them, erected a bamboo pole on top of the highest knob of the hill. Solemnly they raised the emblem of the Chinese Republic—blue sky and white sun against a background of red. In the fresh breeze, it fluttered proudly and with dignity against the horizon. Presently a commander and several officers in dark khaki uniform and Chinese cloth shoes walked up to the post and all saluted.

With their eyes fixed on the symbol, they stood silently at attention. Here and there men stopped work and watched. The peace and tranquillity about them heightened the intensity of the moment. Where bombing, shelling and cold-blooded slaughter had taken place only a short while before, a new kind of drama was now being enacted.

What each man saluting that raised flag had in his mind it is perhaps easy to imagine. No one uttered a word. This was one of the sublime moments for which both officers and men had fought.

The stillness was incredible, for the present battlefield was less than a thousand feet below, where the walled city of Tengchung lay. There an enemy force 1,500 strong, was being surrounded by the Chinese.

The break from the silence came with a bang. As the commander and his officers started walking away from the flag pole, the enemy in the surrounded city directed six shells in their direction in rapid succession. The projectiles fell short of their mark, but the artillery fire lent color and dramatic effect to a simple enough ceremony—the raising of China's national flag.

Symbols are nothing in themselves. They have as little or as much meaning as the hopes and struggles and the understanding of men are able to weave into them.

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Czechoslovakia

A Working Democracy

By
JAN PAPANEK

A model republic since World War I, Czechoslovakia offers an example of what unity in a democratic society can mean. Through the vigorous coordinated action of its Underground at home and its political leaders abroad, it defied Nazi propaganda and abuse that sought to destroy its democratic tradition. It emerges still strong after six years of tyranny.

NOW that we can envisage the closing days of the European phase of the present struggle, and when the oppressed peoples of Europe begin again to breathe the air of political freedom, one can look back and examine the passage during the past five or six years of these nations and their political leaders through the most difficult testing ground of history.

Czechoslovakia is one of the fortunate countries that is coming through this struggle without losing the essential elements which make for a democratic state, although it has suffered the presence of the invaders from the very beginning of the Nazi onslaught. Despite the great efforts of German propaganda and its intricately detailed machinery for moral and material corruption and the disintegration of entire peoples, Czechoslovak democracy remains today as vigorous and healthy as it was in the days before Munich, when it was ready with weapons in hand to defend not only century old borders but also the democratic conception of life to which it aspired and labored for centuries.

The one-eyed Zizka led his people in the Hussite Wars in the 15th century to retain that equality of man as well as that freedom of conscience that they believed in. The gradual decline and eventual loss of freedom, even the decimation of the people, did not kill these basic democratic characteristics. They were nurtured within and strengthened from without by the success of the American and French revolutions, until they culminated in the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918—a republic of all the people, for all the people, politically, culturally, socially and economically.

During the past six difficult years of oppression the political leaders abroad and the people at home remained resolute and united as only a democratic society can be. They were at one on the basic needs and aspirations of the nation for which they all worked together, no matter where they happened to be, and their policy was broad enough to permit every shade of political opinion to find expression, as long as it was in accord with the basic conception of a democratic society.

In this lies the secret and strength of Czechoslovak unity abroad and of the unflinching support given to the president, Dr. Eduard Benes, and his government by the Czechoslovak State Council in London and Czechoslovak nationals scattered over the free world. The Government itself as well as the State Council is composed of former members of the Czechoslovak Parliament and other representatives who reflect varying shades of political opinion.

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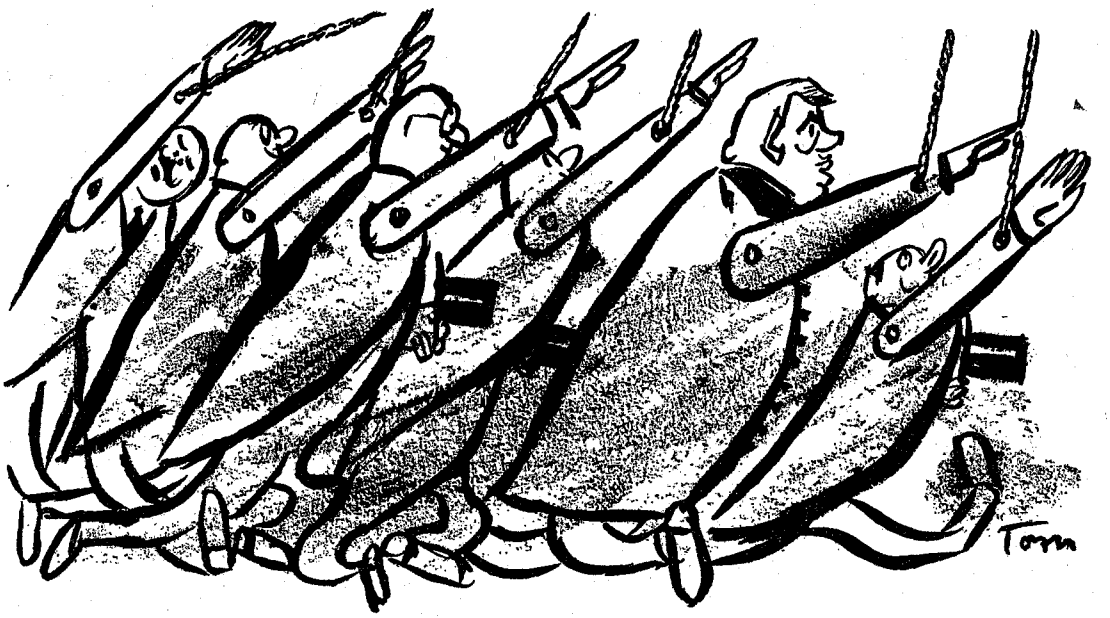
The separation of political leadership from its supporting elements, the broad masses of people, often encourages political leaders abroad to pursue a policy of their own choosing without regard for the wishes of the people they represent. The policy of the Czechoslovak Government, however, was carefully moulded to reflect the wishes and the thinking of the people at home, for the president as well as the government felt and continue to feel accountable to them for their actions. To this end the government throughout the years of occupation maintained regular contact with the people at home.

Contact was not limited to a single group or body of organized resistance forces, but rather was with the many groups which are the outgrowth of a uniquely political-minded people. Thus the president and the government were informed about all shades of public opinion in the occupied homeland and similarly all groups of resistance were informed about the actions of their government and could with satisfaction feel that their wishes and aspirations were taken into consideration and acted upon by their government in accordance with the possibilities of the situation in the world at large.

It was due to this process of communication and exchange of points of view between the leaders abroad and the people at home, that all the major moves of the Czechoslovak Government (the nullification of the Munich Decree by all its signatories, the official visit of President Benes to the U.S.A., the treaty of friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union, etc.) were indeed the embodiment of the national wishes of the Czechoslovak people.

This democratic procedure in the moulding and enactment of policies of a country so ruthlessly oppressed by the invader was a laborious task accomplished only with the exercise of great patience and perseverance. In some instances couriers were captured by the Germans, in others, persons to whom a message was addressed had been executed. Yet closest possible contact was maintained because the president and the government adhered to the fundamental principle, that in a democracy the leaders must always respect the views of those they lead, and it follows therefore that they must be aware of the opinions of the people they represent before taking any action in matters that concern the whole nation.

The same democratic procedure was adhered to in the organization of the Czechoslovak Underground. This intricate underground organization was built on a nucleus of local national committees formed democratically in every village and in every factory in the larger industrial centers. These committees in turn are represented in the regional national councils which communicate with the Government in London. Each regional council has had to work rather independently in its own sphere, for greater



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safety, because of the difficulties of communication, the necessary division of duties and the varied problems in each province of the country. Nonetheless there is close cooperation between them and an all-pervading spirit of resistance which makes them a cohesive group.

It is because of this basic democratic way of functioning that the Czechoslovak democracy has remained a living and vigorous organism. The Nazis found out only recently how real and strong it is even in that section of the Republic where they least expected it. The Germans thought that 20 years of freedom and democratic life was too short a period for the Slovak people to miss them when they were deprived of them, for they had had centuries of oppression at the hands of the Hungarians. For this reason, the Germans gave Monsignor Tiso and his clique rather a free hand.

Yet, on August 29 this year the Slovak National Council, upon previous consultation and agreement with the Government in London issued a call to the Slovak people to revolt. This call was answered so energetically and spontaneously that the Germans needed seven divisions of their best SS troops to suppress it in a two months' campaign. The resistance is by no means destroyed. It continues still, particularly at the communication centers vital to German troop and supply movements.

For centuries the Slovak people were robbed of any political rights by the Hungarian gentry. Their education was purposefully, shamefully neglected and their economic status was only a shade better than that of the medieval serfs. During the twenty years of democratic life within the Czechoslovak Republic all this was changed. An efficient educational system, thousands of new schools, adult educational courses, a free press, and opportunities accorded only by a democracy to all its people made over the people into democratic minded farmers, workers and intellectuals.

In 1918, at the time of the liberation, all in all there were only 2400 Slovak intellectuals, including teachers and ministers of all faiths. During twenty years of independence their number increased to 50,000 persons with complete college education. However, it must be remembered

that a small group was singled out by the Hungarian regime and favored by positions of importance. This group intruded itself into the political party of the late Father Andrej Hlinka, the People's Catholic Party, and after his death succeeded in usurping the leadership of that party by electing Msgr. Dr. Joseph Tiso as its head. From the early days of the Republic this group, through the party, did its utmost to hamper every democratic move that meant strengthening the unity of the people.

This Hlinka party represented 6 per cent of the entire Czechoslovak electorate, and only 28 per cent of the Slovak electorate. Their aim was the destruction of the country and the return of Slovakia to the overlordship of the Hungarians. When they failed in this because of the strenuous resistance of the whole nation to return to slavery under the old masters, they conspired with the Germans and cooperated with them during the time of Munich and after. When the Germans occupied Czechoslovakia, the country was divided into four parts: parts detached by Munich, the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia, the "Schutzstaat" Slovakia, and the province of a Carpatho-Russia, handed over to the Hungarians.

Upon the establishment of the "Schutzstaat" Slovakia, the Germans installed the Tiso clique as their tools in the hope that the Slovak people would accept the totalitarian form of government and that the clique would succeed in creating with well financed propaganda, a permanent wedge between the people of Czech lands and

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Slovakia and thus bury forever the structure of a free, united Czechoslovak state.

The history of the past five years shows how much they underestimated the strength of the democratic seeds sown during the years of independence. In spite of all the vituperative anti-Czech propaganda, the Slovak people helped thousands of Czechs to flee to free countries to join the Czechoslovak Army abroad. Thousands of Slovaks accompanied them. According to the Slovak delegate of the Slovak National Council who came to London recently when, because of German confiscation, there was a great shortage of food and tobacco in the Czech lands, people from Slovakia sent gift packages to Bohemia and Moravia. Yet the Germans did not take cognizance of these symptoms, trusted their puppets and sent two divisions of Slovak soldiers to fight on their side against Russia. The result of this action is that the Czechoslovak Army abroad now has a well-trained and a well-equipped army corps on the eastern front, fighting with great distinction for the liberation of the Republic.

Moreover, immediately after the occupation the Slovak people, like the Czechs, began to organize the powerful Underground which was in constant touch with the Czechoslovak Government in London. All shades of democratic public opinion of Slovakia are represented in it. When the call to revolt came, the Underground came into the open, proclaimed the restoration of the Czechoslovak Republic on home soil, declared all fascist laws of the puppet regime void and reinstalled the old tested democratic constitution of Czechoslovakia.

One of the first acts of this Underground was to open prisons and concentration camps to free the Jews and political prisoners held there. And so while severe fighting went on in the hills and at railroad junctions, the democratic way of life began to function in the valleys. Simultaneously with this move the Slovak National Council, a democratic body of fifty members with an executive committee of eight, as the head of the Underground organization, proclaimed its allegiance to President Benes as head of the Republic and recognized the Czechoslovak Government in London as the legal representative of the Czechoslovak people abroad. This is proof of the living Czechoslovak democracy, the evidence that shows that all the efforts of the Germans to divide the people and destroy the Republic failed completely.

Hungarian ambitions met a similar experience at the hands of the people of Carpatho-Russia, Czechoslovakia's easternmost province. The Hungarians tried to induce the people to profess loyalty to Hungary, at times by promises and ruthless persecution at others. Thousands of young intellectuals, educated to democracy in the schools of Czechoslovakia, were killed, sent to slave labor, or banned from their native cities. Many escaped to Russia to join the Czechoslovak Army.

In spite of terrorization and false promises the people resisted the invaders in continuous guerrilla warfare almost as costly to them in life and property as to the enemy. Today the entire province is liberated and Minister Frantisek Nemec, the Czechoslovak Government delegate for the liberated territories, has taken over its administration. He is assisted in his difficult task of reconstruction by the national committees, which led the resistance during the enemy occupation. All fascist laws decreed by the Hungarians were declared invalid and people's courts, composed of citizens selected by the National Committees in cooperation with members of the delegation of Minister Nemec, are being set up to pass judgment on those few Quislings who betrayed the democratic creed of the Carpatho-Russian people and the Czechoslovak Republic. And so while in Prague, Brno, and Bratislava the Gestapo still kills scores of people daily because they fight for a free democratic Republic, in Carpatho-Russia the recently persecuted have again come into their own.

Hope is strong that the liberation of all Czechoslovakia is not far distant. When that time comes, it is the intention of the Czechoslovak Government in London to relinquish the power it held abroad as trustee of the Czechoslovak people at home. President Benes will name a new government, composed also of those fighting at home, which will prepare general elections at the earliest possible moment. After that the people will choose their president for that is the way of the Czechoslovak democracy.

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The Emerging World Order At Dumbarton Oaks

AT last the discussion on the coming world order has something to hold onto, namely, the proposals adopted by the representatives of the United States, U.S.S.R., Great Britain and China at the already historic meeting place of Dumbarton Oaks. While these lines are being written, negotiations between the various United Nations governments are being speeded up and there is hope that very soon further steps will be taken leading to an over-all conference and to submission of a general charter to the legislative bodies of the free nations.

The Editors of FREE WORLD submit that there is no subject at present that is of more importance to the existence of our civilization and to the maintenance of peace than the attempts to establish permanent world organization. That is why the Round Table of our October issue and the present one are dedicated to the discussion of the inter-governmental steps that have been taken toward a structure and a machinery for the enforcement of peace.

Louis Dolivet, international editor of FREE WORLD, presided. The other participants were: Ulric Bell, Executive Vice-President of Americans United; Bruce Bliven, editor of the New Republic *and American correspondent for the* Manchester Guardian; *Thomas K. Finletter, former special assistant to the Secretary of State; Huntington Gilchrist, former head of the Mandate Section of the League of Nations at Geneva and Secretary General of the recent U.N.R.R.A. Conference in Montreal; Walter Millis, editorial and staff writer for the New York* Herald Tribune, *Ruth Bryan Rohde, former United States Ambassador to Denmark; Myles Standish, a former Foreign Service Officer of the U. S. Department of State and Director of the Free World Association. Durward V. Sandifer, Acting Chief of the Division of International Security and Organization of the U. S. Department of State, participated in a technical capacity with no responsibility for the statements of the other participants, nor for the conclusions reached by the Round Table.*

ESSENTIAL FINDINGS

1 Dumbarton Oaks is the first step toward a system in which the major powers commit themselves to the maintenance of international security.

2 No peace can be maintained if unity among the big powers is broken.

3 The rule of a unanimous vote by the major powers might under some circumstances lead to serious complications.

4 The Economic and Social Council should be strengthened and its activities extended to the educational field.

5 The staff should have its primary loyalty to the world organization.

6 An agency should be created to deal with the dependent peoples.

For the discussion of the world security organization, see next page.

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ROUND TABLE No. 28

Thomas K. Finletter,
Durward V. Sandifer, Ruth Bryan Rohde

LOUIS DOLIVET—In order to facilitate the discussion, I will begin by summing up the essential aims and structure of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals as they stand today.

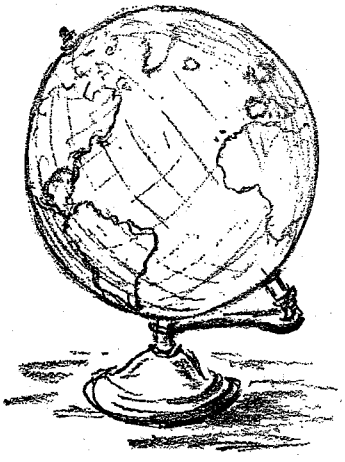
The four major aims that guide the Dumbarton Oaks setup are:

A. The maintenance of international peace and security.

B. Development of friendly relations among nations.

C. The achievement of international cooperation in the economic, social and other humanitarian fields.

The organization as envisaged at Dumbarton Oaks will be open to all peace loving States.



The following four major organs are foreseen:

1. A General Assembly;
2. A Security Council;
3. An International Court of Justice;
4. A Secretariat.

I would like to begin by discussing some of the differences or similarities with the old League of Nations, so that we may see whether some of the reasons which have led to the failure of the old League are not to be found in the new setup.

Mr. Gilchrist, as a former official of the old League, would you start the ball rolling?

Huntington Gilchrist—Mr. Dolivet, may I reply to your reference to the failure of the old League? That strikes a vital point on which there has been some misunderstanding in this country. The League failed, it seems to me, primarily not because of any defect in the machinery of the League, or in the text of the Covenant. It failed to accomplish its main purpose, keeping the peace, largely because most of the great powers were not members at the same time over any long period. The United States was not a member at all. And the failure, so-called, of the League in the late thirties was the result primarily of the appeasement policy of the leading members, I think one may say.

Dolivet—It was not a failure of the League, but a failure of the members of the League.

Gilchrist—Failure of the members of the League, and the fact that all the great powers were not members.

Dolivet—Would you think that now that the major powers of the world are mem-

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bers, or intend to become members of the setup of Dumbarton Oaks, this essential weakness is overcome?

Gilchrist—Yes, that is probably the main reason why we can expect greater results from the Dumbarton Oaks organization than from the old League of Nations.

Thomas K. Finletter—I would suggest, Mr. Chairman, that we know of one technique of the old League which may possibly have had something to do with its failure, and that was the unanimity rule.

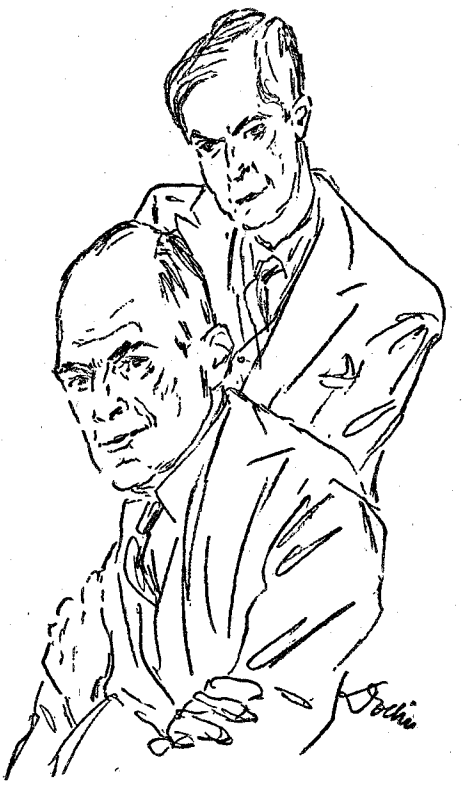
Bruce Bliven—It is obvious that as the world stands now, you can't expect one, at least, of the great powers to accept such a rule when it might result in a decision adverse to that particular power. However, it seems to me this whole question of unanimity has been greatly exaggerated in its importance. If you ever get to the point where any of the three or four chief powers is charged with aggression before the League, your machinery probably will break down anyhow.

Dolivet—Is there any opposition to the point of view expressed by Mr. Bliven?

Finletter—Yes, I would like to express some opposition to it, Mr. Chairman. In the first place, I think Mr. Bliven makes one assumption which will not stand up. It is that the unanimity rule applies only when one of the major three or four powers is accused itself of aggression. A case might very well arise where action was proposed against some other power, and where the unanimity rule might come in to prevent action.

The unanimity question is completely fundamental. Without arguing for or against it, I would like to state that you have the choice here between two different kinds of organization. Mr. Walter Lippmann in the current *Atlantic Monthly* has stated the case for the unanimity rule. As I read his article before coming here, he stands for the proposition that unanimity should be applied in all cases, including those where the power in question is itself accused of aggression, arguing that this is the only practical basis on which you can get assent of the Senate and can achieve agreement with the four other big powers.

That is a very persuasive argument in terms of getting things done. It may be a persuasive argument in favor of establishing a method of stopping war. On the other hand, I think we must recognize that there is another principle based on a concept totally different from the unanimity principle, which latter is basically that of an alliance.



Huntington Gilchrist, Walter Millis

The other principle in which a majority or two-thirds or three-quarters vote would obtain, is the universal one, which can be briefly stated as the rule of law among all nations of the world. The rule of law would be established in the setting up of the organization. It would have an executive to carry it out, with a police force, and a judiciary to interpret it.

I think the unanimity question strikes at the root of this thing, and as you answer your unanimity question so you decide which of those two types of organization you are going to have.

Ruth Bryan Rohde—If I may, I should like to go back to the statement that the weakness of the League was due not to machinery of the League, but to the lack of support from some of the great powers. I think of an incident that illuminates that truth. The day when Japan went out of

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the League in 1933, I was in London. There was a great deal of alarm and consternation. I was at Clivedon that day, and one of the other guests was the Japanese Ambassador. Lady Astor said to the Japanese Ambassador, "See what your country has done to the world today by going out of the League!"

Without the slightest pause, he said, "Madam, see what your country did by not being in it."

Walter Millis—Yes, and apparently the unanimity rule is behind this question of whether the great countries will go in or will not go in. Unless you give the great countries the assurances they are certain to demand anyway they will not go into the organization.

You may say that one reason why the League failed was that it didn't take sufficiently into account the importance that a great power's position would have to itself. I agree wholly with Mr. Bliven on the question of unanimity. We must recognize at the very beginning that this organization is not an organization to control the great powers.

Durward V. Sandifer—As you all know the question of voting procedure in the Security Council was left open in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. I have noticed that discussions on voting always tend to concentrate on the question of unanimity. I should like to point out that the whole question of voting, of course, isn't limited to whether there shall be a unanimous vote on the part of the great powers.

The Moscow declaration was based upon the assumption that it was necessary to have common action and agreement, solidarity among the great powers. I think it was the view in launching the effort to bring about agreement on a plan for a general organization that one of the most important steps in establishing the basis for such an organization is to get agreement on a structure in which the great powers will cooperate—the powers that have the military force, the military and industrial resources to enforce peace and to carry it out.

I wouldn't express any opinion as to whether the question of a unanimity vote would affect that or not, or how it would affect it. But I do think the point is essential.

There wasn't very much difficulty in arriving at agreement on a modified vote in the Assembly. The provision in the proposals is for a two-thirds vote on a number of important questions and a simple majority vote on all other questions. There is no provision for unanimous or special vote for the great powers.

Millis—Is the military staff not molded on the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington?

Sandifer—I think that that probably influenced the nature of the committee as it is provided in the proposals.

Millis—That would reduce this question of unanimity really to the utterly irrelevant. Here we have, presumably, an international organization which will in effect be guaranteed by four great powers, and possibly a fifth, China, in addition. As long as these four powers are in cooperation, the thing may work. But if one of those four great powers becomes party to a dispute, there is no form of legal discussion of voting which can overcome the dispute. This means that it then becomes a question of another world war. If Russia gets at outs with the United States and Great Britain, there is no way by any voting system, anything written in Dumbarton Oaks, that could solve the dispute. Either Russia will agree or the United States and Great Britain will yield or we will have a world war.

Supposing that Dumbarton Oaks does order punitive action in such a case. The punitive action is a full-scale, full-fledged war, right back where we started.

Isn't it getting ourselves quite out of the realm of the practical to concentrate this amount of attention on the question of whether the great power will have the veto or not, when the great power in effect is bound to have the veto on the question of whether the problem will be solved peaceably or whether it will be solved by war?

Dolivet—I wonder if we shouldn't discuss at this juncture the functions of the Economic and Social Council which has been given very little attention, but which, to my mind, is extremely important. Those who lived the experiment of Geneva have realized that the permanent atmosphere of peace is very much helped or very much inconvenienced by the existence or nonexistence of a constructive co-operation.

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Bruce Bliven, Louis Dolivet, Ulric Bell, Myles Standish

Mrs. Rohde—As I understood it, that branch of the Dumbarton Oaks setup has not been fixed. Am I right in saying that the particular relationship of the various economic committees to the setup as a whole is still tentative and to be decided?

Sandifer—The exact character of the relationship of existing or specialized organizations to the Economic and Social Council, or rather to the organization as a whole would be defined by agreements between the latter and such organizations as the International Labor Organization, and the Food and Agriculture Organization.

But the general position of the Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, their general function in relation to these specialized organizations, is pretty well defined in the document. That is, that the Assembly would coordinate the activities of these organizations to prevent overlapping. Through the Economic and Social Council it would have the power to make recommendations with respect to budgetary matters and the integration of their activities.

The underlying philosophy here is that a considerable part of the operating functions of international economic activity will be carried on through the specialized organizations, but that there would be a general line of policy and action laid down by the General Assembly and recommended to the specialized organizations and their governments.

Gilchrist—Mr. Chairman, may I revert a moment to the question we were discussing earlier with regard to measures for keeping the peace. It does seem to me important to breathe into any document like the Dumbarton Oaks plan, or the Covenant, the spirit of justice, and our intention as nations to strengthen international law as well as to set up a political program for preventing aggression. We must give wide circulation to the thought that what is desired is not only peace, but peace with justice.

As regards voting, we might also recall that in the League of Nations, parties to a dispute, even the great powers, did not have a vote. With all its reservations in 1919-20 the United States Senate did not object to this, neither did the U.S.S.R. or the others.

It is important if at all practicable to reaffirm this principle of justice in the new charter.

If the great powers disagree violently on any issue, there may be war and the new League may be disrupted. The rules on voting will make little difference but at least the new League will continue to uphold the traditions of justice as a valuable precedent for the next effort. It would also, in fact, be easier to deal with "middle" powers if none of them had a veto in cases of this kind.

Bliven—I should like to comment on

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what Mr. Gilchrist was just saying. I am heartily in favor of the reign of law. I look forward hopefully to a time when all the nations will submit all questions to legal adjudication. I am in favor of doing everything we can now and in the future to build up as large a body of international law as possible. At the same time, we must recognize the fact that the world is confronted with a really desperate crisis here.

I doubt we can stand, certainly not for many generations, another failure of collective security, such as was attempted in the first League. We can stand one such failure; I doubt we can stand two. I feel it is of the greatest importance, therefore, that we move carefully not to have this machinery break down if it can possibly be avoided.

One reason why the first League of Nations failed, it seems to me pretty obvious, was because of a disparity between the legal forms that existed there and the realities of power expressed by the chief nations. I remember being in Geneva myself when the League was meeting in regard to a critical matter and they suspended the operations of the League while Great Britain and France got together in a hotel room and decided what was going to be done.

I think it is of the utmost importance that we should not again permit this disparity between the legal forms and the reality. I think that disparity is a fatal one. This is an interim organization, anyhow. It will certainly be modified in the future. At the present moment it seems to me imperative that we should not set up something which departs so widely from reality as would be the case if we were to insist that one of the big four in the immediate future be judged an aggressor against its will.

Dolivet—I wonder, Mr. Millis, if you would comment on that point?

Millis—Again I find myself wholly in agreement with Mr. Bliven. There is one thing I would like to observe which may be rather heretical. If the great powers will agree, if it seems probable that they will agree to resigning their veto power, I would believe it would be a very fine thing. It might often, in certain particular instances, be useful, but it is of so little practical value in the great crises, that if that were the test between accepting an organization of this kind and having it fail, then I would say it was certainly not worth fighting about.

And further—and here is where I am being a heretic—it seems to me that it is quite possible—although we wish to see a reign of justice in the world—that we are confronting a choice between justice and peace. It is commonly said, you cannot have peace without justice. I am beginning to wonder whether it is not perhaps the reverse that is true, that you can't have peace *with* justice. Because the ideas of what constitutes justice are so many, are so contradictory, involving so many essentially insoluble issues, may we not be in a position where we have to say we want peace so much that we will resign a certain number of our ideas of justice in order to get peace? I suspect that is the case.

Gilchrist—One more word on this question, Mr. Chairman. In Geneva experience, it was always the endeavor of the powers on the Council to reach a unanimous decision, even including powers who may have been party to any question which had arisen. I think that even if the decisions of the Security Council could, under the new rules, be taken without the concurring vote of one of the great powers, the Council would nevertheless exhaust all possible measures of compromise and settlement before taking a vote against the party which was alleged to be the aggressor.

For that reason, I think that the party which was alleged to be the aggressor should not have a vote. There would then be a better chance of a more equitable decision on the part of the deciding group, because the party alleged to be the aggressor could not have quite the same weight in the discussions if it did not have a vote at the end of those discussions.

Sandifer—Before we pass on, may I revert to the remark Mr. Millis made, which grew out of the two previous statements. I wonder whether peace and justice are necessarily irreconcilable? I think this brings up one of the fundamental concepts characteristic of the whole of the Dumbarton proposals. The principal purpose of the organization is to maintain peace and security, to prevent the out-

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break of war, and one means of doing that is through the adjustment of disputes.

But there is a very definite concept carried out there in giving effect to that purpose. The emphasis on the settlement of disputes is placed upon the settlement by the parties, by action by the parties, through methods of their own choice. The Council is a sort of a guiding agency in that situation. It is not itself a body for the settlement of disputes, for determining what the terms of settlement would be and imposing them.

Millis—It is, however, a body for declaring that the disputes shall not be settled by force of arms.

Sandifer—That is correct. There are two principles stated. One is that the states agree that they will settle their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner as not to threaten international peace and security. That is a very fundamental principle. It is a positive undertaking and obligation. Secondly, that they will not resort to force, or not use force in international relations in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of this organization; which in effect means that the use of force is made illegal except for collective action in support of the purposes of the organization.

Dolivet—There are a certain number of other problems which I don't find completely covered by the text of Dumbarton Oaks, and I wondered if we would like to discuss them. Already many of the refugees or the displaced persons find themselves without any papers, and there seems to be a tendency in the authorities of the newly freed countries to be extremely severe with those people who have no papers or who can't prove exactly where they came from.

Rohde—Wouldn't those matters come logically before the world court?

Dolivet—Before the court? Not exactly, because, you see, the individual is not a part of an international agreement. *Unfortunately!* Parties to international agreements are only the states, but Mr. X or Mr. Y cannot appeal to an international court unless it goes through the intermediary of a member state of the court. The court can't accept individual claims.

Rohde—Couldn't it accept group claims?

Standish—I might say on that score that while there seems to be no provision made for the displaced persons or refugees in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees has jurisdiction in that matter by agreement between the member states. It, we assume, will take the place of the old League organism, the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees. We assume further that the Intergovernmental Committee will be absorbed into the new world organization. It is well within the realm of practicability that the individual will have a right to appeal to the Intergovernmental Committee. As a matter of fact, that is an active practice today.

While I was with the War Refugee Board I made a proposal which this Government referred to the Intergovernmental Committee. There is a commission of experts in London now studying this suggestion that the Intergovernmental Committee shall actually issue a passport, at present, in the name of the Committee but later in the name of the new international organization. This is a radical departure from the old Nansen concept, by which such documents were only issued by the state in which the refugee found himself.

"An International Office of Education Is of Vital Importance."
—Mrs. Rohde

Rohde—Among the problems that seem to fall in the class of important matters not covered in the present setup, one is that of international education, and of an International Office of Education. This matter is of vital importance. Probably it is as important as the international consideration of labor problems.

Sandifer—If you will recall, the section on the Economic and Social Council provides that the Economic and Social Council shall be established under the authority of the Assembly, and one of its functions is to promote the solution of economic, social and other humanitarian problems.

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Rohde—Educational problems?

Sandifer—Yes. There is also a specific provision that the Economic and Social Council can establish commissions. An Economic Commission and a Social Commission are named. Other commissions would be established as necessary. One of them might be a commission on education problems. There is here a flexible power in the hands of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council to deal with any of these problems.

Of course, unless there were special agreements conferring specific power upon the commissions, these would only have such powers as may be conferred upon them by the Economic and Social Council or the General Assembly within the framework of their own powers.

Bell—Suppose the United Nations Conference developed a general agreement on that subject. Wouldn't that have the same effect?

Sandifer—Certainly.

Bell—And then wouldn't the Assembly have the authority that we are talking about to deal broadly with these problems?

Sandifer—Yes, it would have. And, of course, the Security Council could deal with any minorities questions, if it was serious enough to constitute a threat to the peace.

Finletter—I think that before you do settle on a plan for world organization you have to find out in what terms you are talking. Are you talking in terms of what is the maximum that we as citizens would like to see obtained? Or of what is *feasible* and what can we get?

It seems to me also you have to distinguish between two points of time. The first phase is between now and the moment when the treaty is submitted to the Senate for ratification. During that time the President of the United States has invited the fullest possible discussion.

The second phase is after the treaty is submitted to the Senate. At that point because of practical considerations I would be in favor of having the public support vigorously anything that the State Department and the President had been able to achieve in terms of international collaboration.

But to go back to the first phase, which is the present one, and before the thing is crystallized. The President said that he wanted these proposals made public to permit full discussion by the people of this country prior to the convening of a wider conference on this all-important subject. That, it seems to me, is an invitation to the citizens to discuss how far they would like to go. I don't think that that was an invitation to discuss what could be done in terms of practical politics, because obviously, as citizens, we are not qualified to do so.

For this reason I am a little impatient with arguments which are based on what the State Department can or cannot get in terms of Senate approval or agreement with our Allies. That is not our function, and I doubt that we are qualified to talk in those terms. I conceive it our duty as citizens to express our opinion only as to the broad general direction in which we would like to go.

The broad general direction that I would personally prefer is in the line with what Mr. Gilchrist has said, namely, the establishment of some sort of an organization based on justice and the rule of law, which would: (1) lay down certain principles of law by which the members were to be guided, and (2) would set up an executive body with power to enforce those principles of law, and, (3) would have a judicial branch with authority to make decisions with respect to the law, which would be established by the main organization itself.

That is the broad line that I favor. When you get down to questions of technique, in my opinion these should be in aid of that broad principle.

Gilchrist—It seems to me more important to bring about the creation of the proposed new general international organization as quickly as possible, than to bring about a more perfect organization, which would include some of the features suggested by Mr. Finletter.

May I add that my reference earlier to justice and law was not for the purpose of suggesting that the Dumbarton plan should be radically revised. I believe that within the framework that is now set forth in the Dumbarton text there could and should be inserted provisions for the strengthening of international law. These

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would operate within the peace and security which had been given to the world by the plan itself. If the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice could be extended, so much the better.

"If the Great Powers Disagree There Will Be War."
—Gilchrist

Millis—May I amplify the remarks I made a little while ago, Mr. Chairman? I didn't mean to suggest that I did not hope that the Dumbarton Oaks plan would permit or lead to a reign of justice in the international world. I meant only that a great many people have many ideas of what is justice and what is not. As I have studied so difficult a question as the Polish problem today, I have observed that all sides of that complicated fence appeal to rules of justice. Obviously, all cannot be satisfied, and there may arise moments—very probably will—in which our will to maintain the peace will have to be superior to our own personal idea of what may constitute justice. I hope, as everyone else does, that within that rule of peace which is a fundamental necessity now, a reasonable, just legal system can be developed.

Bell—I was hoping Mr. Millis would amplify and qualify that statement, because, of course, we don't want to go back to Munich again! We could have had peace very readily with Hitler without justice.

Dolivet—I wouldn't agree with that, Mr. Bell. We did make concessions and still we didn't have peace.

Finletter—We must seek to do more by our world peace machinery than we can do within our capacities as nations. It is very often stated that we can't go very far. Possibly not, but I would like to point out that we seem not to be pessimistic about continuing the effort to stop war by alliances which has been made now for about two thousand years without any success.

I am not an historian, but I would suggest that if you look at the important wars of history, you will find that after those wars, the victorious powers usually get together and determine that they are never going to let it happen again. By this means they succeeded in keeping peace for the period during which it is very easy to keep peace, namely, during the five, ten, or fifteen years immediately after the war.

The point I am making is that we are pessimistic about what an international organization might do. Let us be a little pessimistic about what a five-power alliance might do.

Bliven—What you say is very true. Past history gives us no reason to be optimistic about the permanent results of alliances of the victors in a war. That is obvious, and if this new world organization were to be no more than an alliance of the victorious powers, I think we should be pessimistic about it. All we could do is to hope that with the progress of time it would turn from being an alliance into a genuine international organization. The only reason for accepting the alliance at this moment is because the alternative seems to be chaos.

I feel that in nearly all the discussion of Dumbarton Oaks, we have put too much emphasis on such matters as the handling of a case of aggression after it has become open and overt. Far more important than what to do about an actual aggressor is the machinery for conciliation or arbitration of disputes which haven't yet reached that critical stage. Still more important seems to me the creation of machinery which shall prevent disputes from developing at all. I suggest that possibly in the conspectus of history, the most important part of the entire Dumbarton Oaks plan will be the social and economic committees under the Assembly which will attempt to solve particular economic problems among the nations in such ways that conflicts will never arise. It is vital that we develop in the economic sphere such things as agreements for the reasonable allocation of dwindling raw materials, the allocation of world markets, the control of the colonies and dominions of various great powers.

Finletter—I am in substantial agreement with what Mr. Bliven has just said. I want to make it entirely clear that I think Dumbarton Oaks has so far achieved one magnificent thing: it has practically committed

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this country to joining some kind of an international organization. I quite agree that if we get that and only that, merely a consultative forum, we will have gone a long way, and it will be a very fine achievement. However, this is a matter which touches the lives of all Americans, and future generations of Americans. Therefore every effort should be made to go as far as possible under the circumstances.

I am convinced that some day or other, after some world war or other, a true international organization will be set up with broad executive, legislative and judicial powers, backed by the will of all the civilized peoples and equipped to enforce peace. That is going to come, and I think as citizens we are derelict in our duty if we don't push to the very maximum toward that goal, leaving it to the gentlemen in government to go as far as is practically possible.

Gilchrist—Mr. Finletter, I think you will agree that there is a good deal of difference between the Dumbarton Oaks plan and an old-fashioned five-power alliance. The Dumbarton Oaks proposal is itself a proposal which will become a part of international law, as was mentioned some time ago; action taken to keep the peace under the Dumbarton Oaks plan will be on a legal foundation.

This means, too, that decisions will not be taken by the four or five great powers, but in the presence, and it is hoped, with the concurrence of six of the smaller powers. There will be regularized action which will be to a certain extent taken in public, because the results will be published, and it will serve possibly as the second major step in the building up of international law and organization—the first being the League of Nations.

Bell—Mr. Chairman, I should like to know if the discussion is as open as I believe the country thinks now. At this moment the country is going on the assumption that it is a tentative proposition that came out of Dumbarton.

Sandifer—It is open. The statement by the four governments on that point is an absolutely bonafide one. It is open in the sense that any provision in this document is subject to change when it comes to negotiations before the general conference.

Millis—You must admit the document is not such as can be submitted to the Senate.

Sandifer—The document was deliberately couched in general language rather than in terms conventional in character.

Millis—It is not a treaty, and you would have to recast the whole thing in order to make a treaty out of it.

Dolivet—I wonder if you wouldn't discuss at this juncture the function of the general secretariat. With due respect to some splendid members of the previous staff of the League of Nations who worked

"We Want Peace So Much, We Will Resign Certain Ideas Of Justice."
—Millis

under very hard conditions, I believe that the secretariat probably was not one of the most successful we could have had. Some of the secretaries were not in the main eager to enforce the principles of the League. They favored in many cases, to my mind, the appeasement policies which led to the downfall of the League.

Furthermore, I feel that in the setup of the secretariat there wasn't enough direct representation of the people. It was mostly composed of diplomatic or technical experts. While these people are very important in such an organization, some kind of direct contact with the public opinion in the various countries of the world would seem very necessary. Otherwise the secretariat lives in a vacuum and slowly becomes disconnected from world public opinion.

Gilchrist—It is essential to provide in the text of the new charter for immunities for the staff which will give it strength and freedom, and to provide that the staff be chosen in such manner as to create a nucleus of a very impartial body. Efforts certainly were made to create such an organization in Geneva. They were not perhaps entirely successful, but in the early days we did have such men as Sir Arthur

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Salter (English), Dr. Rapparáh (Swiss) and I might mention others. It was in fact remarkable that such great success was achieved in this first important attempt to build an international civil service. They gave strength and independence—

Dolivet—With the exception of the Secretary-General.

Gilchrist—Only as regards one of them. Reference was made earlier to the new military staff and the power it would have and the leanings it might have. Before a question gets to the military staff committee, of course it will be handled largely by the staff of the secretariat. That staff may be even more helpful from the point of view of the results of action by the Security Council in helping to bring about the settlement of disputes before aggression takes place.

Dolivet—Is there agreement here that the general secretariat should have diplomatic immunity, freedom of travel and investigation, throughout the member states of the organization? Then, to whom should they owe loyalty? This is very important. I remember some of those strange meetings at Geneva where you were sitting together, let's say ten or fifteen people, and you knew that each one would make a report to his foreign office of what was being said. Of course, it doesn't help to create a very great atmosphere of confidence when everybody knows that the Swiss wire services will do a first-class business in the evening.

I wonder if there are any ideas here on how to create an allegiance directly to the international organization itself, so that automatically, when you became a member of the staff of the general secretariat, you were on leave, so to speak, from your absolute national loyalty. Thus your obedience would go to the international organization as a whole.

Bell—Many people who are interested in this subject would like to see the great powers have that same feeling of loyalty.

Dolivet—Mr. Millis, would you comment?

Millis—I was going to ask whether there was any tendency in Geneva toward an international loyalty? Or was there a tendency away from it?

Dolivet—I think there was a spirit of international community. The community itself had quite a strongly developed international spirit. Unfortunately, this did not survive the critical phases.

Gilchrist—In the earlier days in Geneva, I think it could be said there was very great loyalty on the part of the staff to the League of Nations, and there was very little attempt on the part of government members to interfere with the activities of the staff and their loyalty. Regrettably that situation did deteriorate during the 30's, particularly with the growth of fascism in Europe, and the attempt on the part of various governments to control the activities of all their citizens, whether they were serving on an international body or not.

Sandifer—It comes down, doesn't it, really to a question of the good faith of the member states, and whether they are willing to carry out the kind of a scheme of international organization that is set out here. I should think there would be general agreement that the principle of international loyalty should be accepted, and that the members of the secretariat should not act on the basis of orders or directives from their national states.

Bell—Wouldn't it be a good idea to have an international passport system as part of the agreement, so that the organization could issue a passport to these men and it would be honored by any nation?

Mrs. Rohde—It seems to me that there is a chance to create a new point of view. There are some now but not enough, who have an international viewpoint; who have a loyalty that goes further than national loyalty. That is something that must be built up. A world organization provides the opportunity, if as you say, the secretariat is selected in some manner from among those who have proven their own initial loyalty to something larger than national interests: to the welfare of human beings, the welfare of the human race. It should then be possible also to foster and to build into public thinking this wider form of loyalty.

Dolivet—Would you think that such a change in public opinion and feeling might be aided through the establishment of a direct consultative assembly, or a sort of parallel popular assembly which would bring to the world body suggestions of

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world public opinion, its complaints? In Geneva the suggestion was often made that there should be a sort of informal assembly of all of the organizations interested in world cooperation, which would meet at the same time as the Assembly of the League of Nations. Its decisions would not be binding, they would merely be recommendations. At the same time they would serve to interpret to the public throughout the world the decisions made at the governmental meetings. They would act as a sort of liaison, because you must always take this into account—and I think Mr. Gilchrist will agree on this—that once you are in a small city such as Geneva, with your staff, the staff problems and technical problems, the details of everyday life, become so absorbing that there is a complete lack of contact with public opinion.

In Geneva there were three small newspapers, all very conservative and at least two of them very reactionary. This created an atmosphere in which it was sometimes hard for the secretariat members to realize they were cut off from the rest of the world.

I wonder if someone wants to comment on the possibility of setting up such a consultative assembly, maybe based on the method adopted by the American State Department recently when it began to discuss the problems of Dumbarton Oaks with Americans United and other organizations.

Gilchrist—No, Mr. Chairman, I would only agree to a limited extent. The Secretariat staff traveled a good deal and the constant flow of delegates and visitors from all over the world brought outside points of view to Geneva.

Millis—Everything that has been said by the last two or three speakers is very important. We hope that an international view, a general international consciousness, will ultimately develop. I would merely point out that the whole basis of Dumbarton Oaks, as far as I can see, is an attempt to set up an international organization of sovereign states, operating through the states, not through the individual. Moreover, it is *not* a federal system comparable to that of the American union. The individual cannot appear before the World Court as an individual. This is a conscious attempt to act by states and through states. In our desire to see the growth of an international viewpoint, I think we shouldn't overlook the fact that we have to work through the state—this being the whole theory or basis of the system that has been elaborated at Dumbarton Oaks.

Dolivet—May we go over to the last point for discussion? That is the problem of the representation of smaller nations. There has been a certain discussion going on in this country, I think, more even than in the smaller countries themselves.

Mrs. Rohde—It is my understanding that the nations can join as members, that there is no obstacle to their joining. Of course, my thought at once springs to the small northern countries that have been so loyal in their support of the League—those democratic, small countries that are, measured by physical power, not great countries, but, measured by intelligence and by their ability to solve their own problems, and by their technique for economic and social adjustments, are certainly valuable members of any council.

When I was looking at the plan of the League, I looked first to see if those countries were to be permitted to be members, because I think they are highly valuable.

"I Doubt We Can Stand Another Failure Of Collective Security."
—Bliven

Bliven—We all wish to see Dumbarton Oaks endowed with as much power for the small nations as possible at the earliest possible moment.

We must also recognize that some of the tears that have been shed for the small nations in connection with Dumbarton Oaks are crocodile tears, with a special purpose behind them.

Sandifer—Of course, it might be pointed out that all the states are represented equally in the Assembly; that there is provision for eighteen members on the Economic and Social Council; and that there is rather a wide representation possible in the International Court, if its size should

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be continued to fifteen states. The Court is not supposed to be a representative organ, of course.

Then most of the specialized organizations, some of which are going to become very powerful, are practically universal in their membership. So that the small states have representation in a very wide area of the activities of the organization.

Bell—I think the American public will support Dumbarton Oaks heartily, as soon as they understand it. I don't believe they have the whole story yet. They have to be reconciled to the fact that at this time they are not getting a world organization of high representative character, or a world government.

Gilchrist—Before you close, Mr. Dolivet, I should like to refer back to a remark you made earlier, when you asked what omissions there were from the Dumbarton Oaks plan. It has been noticed by a good many people with whom I have talked that there is no reference in the Dumbarton Oaks plan to any continuation of the principle of international responsibility for the welfare of dependent peoples, which was provided for in Article 22 of the Covenant. It seems to me that this was an important principle contained in the Covenant, and it is to be hoped that it will be perpetuated in the new League.

I wonder whether Mr. Sandifer could make any comment as to whether there is any possibility of embodying that principle in the text of the new charter, setting up a council which would have some power in that respect and making provisions, for instance, for a continuation of mandates which still are entrusted to the League of Nations.

Dolivet—Before Mr. Sandifer answers, may I ask you, would you foresee the same method as that of the League: a system of mandates?

Gilchrist—I have in mind some possibility of wider recognition of international responsibility for backward territories.

Dolivet—International trusteeship?

Gilchrist—International trusteeship, perhaps. A council in which, perhaps by a two-thirds vote, any question involving the welfare of those peoples might be taken up. Or, at least an arrangement by which mandates might be continued.

Dolivet—This would infringe upon sovereignty which has been seen as one of the basic principles of Dumbarton Oaks.

Sandifer—As to Mr. Gilchrist's question, there has been very widespread interest and discussion on that subject in the United States and in some of the other countries. There has been some in Great Britain. I don't know to what extent there has been in the other colonial powers. The Secretary of State, I think, has made public his interest in the question of proper consideration for dependent areas.

I should think that this is one of the areas not covered in the Dumbarton proposals, which should receive very careful and general consideration.

Gilchrist—Every limitation on the complete separate right of action of each individual member state in this document itself is a limitation on the sovereignty of those states.

There is a great deal of such limitation in the Dumbarton Oaks plan as there was in the Covenant of the League.

Dolivet—If there are no other observations, I will take the liberty of making a very brief summary for our readers, and please correct me after or during what I as saying, if I am not interpreting exactly your ideas and agreements.

I think that the Round Table has recognized that the Dumbarton Oaks setup as it stands now has the immense advantage of having committed all the major powers to participate in the establishment of a system of international security, and that the feeling of the Round Table is that even if this were the only achievement of Dumbarton Oaks it would already be important.

Members of the Round Table agreed also that there can be no peace maintained if the unity among the big powers is broken, the unity of action.

The members of the Round Table felt that it is indispensable to give the utmost support to these attempts at creating a world organization and not to do anything which would encourage the opponents, or the adversaries, the enemies of world organization. Once final decisions are adopted, of course the members of the Round Table feel that every forward-minded citizen should give them the utmost support in order to make them successful.

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It was felt by the members of the Round Table that one of the important matters still to be discussed and solved is the problem of voting; that the rule of absolute unanimity under all circumstances might lead to certain complications in the normal functioning of the Council. Some members of the Round Table felt that it is indispensable that, based on the old practice of the League, the parties to the conflict should not vote.

The members of the Round Table agreed that the specialized organizations foreseen by the Dumbarton Oaks setup, such as the Economic and Social Council could be of major importance in establishing international economic, social and educational cooperation. It was suggested that an international Education Office might be one of the first organizations to be created under this provision, in order to bring about a community of interest which would tend to reduce the dangers of war. The Round Table felt that a great opportunity will present itself to take action of this sort.

The Round Table was in accord that Dumbarton Oaks should be viewed as a beginning, and that the ultimate goal is an international organization with power to establish the principles of international justice and law, and the necessary legislative and executive and judiciary power to secure a permanent, lasting peace. They saw Dumbarton Oaks as the first step toward that goal.

The Round Table discussed the problem of the secretariat, and it was very strongly felt that the members of the staff of the secretariat should have their primary loyalty toward the international organization as such.

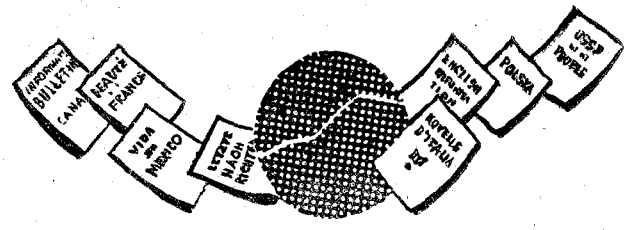
As far as the small powers are concerned, the members of the Round Table considered that the provisions made at Dumbarton Oaks for their admission and their equal voting power in the Assembly is a great step forward, and that no case should be made out that they are not represented. As the provisions now stand, they will be represented in the General Assembly, and also will be represented, to a certain extent, on the Security Council by the six members whom they will elect.

The Round Table unanimously agreed that it will be advisable to expand or to create certain new organizations in order to deal with the dependent peoples in a way which would go further than the old mandate system, and which would really give a chance for the international community as a whole to deal with the problem of dependent peoples.

Millis—Will you change "unanimously" to "agreed in general?" I have some reservations myself.

Finletter—Mr. Chairman, I should like to add this qualification for my own part to your very excellent summary. I should like to see in the setup of the three main bodies which compose the United Nations organization—the Assembly, the Council, and the Court—as finally agreed on at the international conference to be held on this subject—as wide acceptance as is practical of the principles of justice, universality, and the rule of law.

Gilchrist—I am not sure it was brought out in the summary, but I think the group agrees that the world organization should be created at the earliest possible moment. The question of time is vital. I believe we should emphasize the urgency of the need for action.



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Bolting Europe's Hurricane Doors—

French and Russian Security

The signing by France and the Soviet Union of a pact of alliance and mutual assistance gives this article especial pertinence. The author compares the security guarantees France vainly sought after the last war, with those Russia today seeks as prerequisite to world security.

BY
PHILIP M. KAISER

IN attempting to define the position of the Soviet Union in the postwar world it is essential to distinguish between the political and historical realities and a welter of prejudice and confusion. Some, out of prejudice or hope, are convinced that a war with Russia is in the making, disregarding the tragic consequences of such a struggle.

Others, the majority, are perplexed. They have read and heard much of Marxist internationalism and they are worried lest the full-grown bear go on a rampage. They see Russia emerging from the war as the dominant power in Europe and are uncertain what that basic new fact presages for future peace.

The peacemakers in 1919 faced parallel perplexities. France emerged from World War I as the dominant nation on the European continent, and European history from Versailles to the Nazi invasion of Poland is largely the story of France's efforts to maintain that dominance and the reaction of her war allies to those efforts. The problems faced by France were not dissimilar to those confronting the Soviet Union today.

Victorious France came out of the war a battered nation. Her fields had been the locale of four years of destructive battle; she had suffered staggering losses—almost six million killed and wounded of a total mobilized force of eight million—and most important, she had almost lost the war. Moreover, a nation as conscious of her history as France could afford no illusions about her position. The war had been won; she was for the time being dominant in Europe. But she could not overlook the threat of her warlike and aggressive neighbor, Germany.

Above all else France wanted the peace settlement to provide a reasonable guarantee of her security—wanted her prevailing position vis-a-vis Germany maintained. Nor were French motives narrowly selfish. A secure France as a bulwark against a resurgent German military might, was the first step in the achievement of a durable peace for Europe.

In this context the behavior of French leaders at Versailles was a tribute to French logic. Their basic lesson was that Germany must never be able to wage war again. That was Clemenceau's text; everything else was commentary.

It was never Clemenceau's desire to destroy the Reich. He hoped, rather, to neutralize Germany's potential military power. Thus, when the United States and Great Britain promised an Anglo-American guarantee of the French frontier, Clemenceau felt that France's position had been secured, and therefore refused to accede to Foch's demand that the left bank of the

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Rhine be excluded from the Reich.

Unfortunately, Great Britain and the United States failed to appreciate the basic validity of France's position. Britain, ensnared by an anachronistic balance of power policy, soon began to fear that perhaps a France dominating Europe would jeopardize the British position. When the United States Senate failed to ratify the Treaty guaranteeing French security, Britain followed suit. Bitter paradox it was that while France suffered from a deep sense of insecurity Britain feared that France's position was too powerful. This conflict was never resolved, even though Churchill made a belated attempt to heal the breach when, in June 1940, he presented his dramatice proposal for an Anglo-French Union.

Throughout the twenties, practically every step France took to maintain her position was thwarted. Britain objected vehemently to French reoccupation of the Ruhr; Briand's attempt to attain in 1922 a British guarantee of French security was rebuffed; a pact of mutual assistance drafted in 1923 was likewise rejected by the British. When out of sheer necessity France turned to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania, and built up a system of alliances with these lesser powers, Britain felt that her suspicions about French intentions were being confirmed.

The problem of disarmament, which loomed so large in the twenties, also brought out the basic conflict between France and her former Allies. The French hesitated to endorse a program of disarmament so long as they felt that their security was not assured. Britain, spurred on by an unrealistic pacifism and by fear of France, thought that French disarmament would help keep peace; while the "isolated" United States also responded to the lures of disarmament.

On its face the Locarno Agreement, which included a guarantee of France's frontiers by Great Britain, Italy and Belgium, satisfied France's need for security. But the Germans signed the Agreement with basic reservations. Whereas Briand felt that the pact went a long way toward achieving France's primary objective—a Europe capable of peaceful organization because militarily Germany's hands were tied—Streseman believed that Germany had gained considerable concessions, without irretrievably committing herself to the French position. A Germany which had just elected Field Marshal von Hindenburg as its President was not conjuring up images of lions lying down with lambs. By 1936 the Germans were able to destroy the Locarno pact with impunity.

Communist Bogey

FAILURE to maintain a sound power structure after Versailles was a major reason for Europe's inability to settle down in the twenties and cultivate the arts of peace; it paved the way for Hitler's rise to power in the thirties. The leaders of the Third Reich left no doubt as to their warlike intentions—yet so rankling were the disagreements of the twenties that even after January 1933 France, Britain, and the rest of Europe, were incapable of closing their ranks against imminent German aggression. And a new factor—a factor which Hitler exploited with deadly effectiveness—had emerged to plague Europe—the fear of communism.

Succumbing to this fear, too many conservative leaders in Western Europe and other countries lost their national moorings. After the rise of Hitler, Neville Chamberlain thought that perhaps in His inscrutable way, the Lord had created the

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German Army to thwart the Red menace. French leaders dabbled with a Franco-Soviet pact. But was it worth saving France's national existence if it meant effective military collaboration with Communist Russia?

Thus Germany was permitted to rebuild her military strength to a point where she could challenge the security of any nation on the continent. One thing could stop Hitler: a firm array of power—and that required active collaboration of France, Russia and Britain, plus at least tacit support by the United States. The failure to achieve such collaboration enabled Hitler to pursue, unhindered, his policy of isolate and destroy.

No Security Guarantee

THE League of Nations also failed to provide France with the needed security against a resurgence of German power. So long as the League was a confederation of sovereign states, and not a world state, its success in preventing war depended on the existence of a common interest among its chief members, particularly in the matter of policy toward the defeated enemy. Such a bond was lacking, with the result that the League was never able to develop as an effective force in its own right.

The United States, as represented by President Wilson, thought of the League as a kind of super-state whose power would be so great that it would no longer be necessary for nations to resort to pre-1914 diplomatic techniques to assure national security. Once it became apparent that the League could not assume the authority of a world state Wilson's demand for military disarmament and the abolition of the traditional national methods for maintaining security became untenable. Wilson continued to be far more concerned with the establishment of the League, than with the details of the peace settlement. He refused to accede to Clemenceau's request that the conditions of peace be imposed on the enemy states even prior to the formal peace conference and certainly before the establishment of the League of Nations.

There is a common belief that had the United States joined the League, World War II might have been averted. But the failure of the Senate to ratify the treaty guaranteeing French security, and the reservations on the use of American military power with which the United States would have entered the League, render it doubtful that American membership in the League would have altered in any fundamental way the trend of world history between 1920 and 1939.

A Free Europe

THE true test of Russia's actions is whether, by strengthening Russian security, they fit into a pattern designed to make Europe free against German domination; for only in the absence of that threat, as Walter Lippmann has said "can the unity of Europe be made consistent with the independence and freedom of the non-German nations."

Russian policies in Eastern Europe are clearly explicable in these terms. Russia believes that she must regain the territories lost after the last war if she is to achieve genuine security and play her part in making Europe safe against German aggression. For the same reason she feels that she cannot countenance "unfriendly" governments on her border any more than Britain could tolerate a hostile Belgium, or the United States an unfriendly Mexico. Russia remembers only too well the attempts to establish *cordons sanitaires* around the Soviet Union; paralyzing fears of communism in the West; Poland's un-

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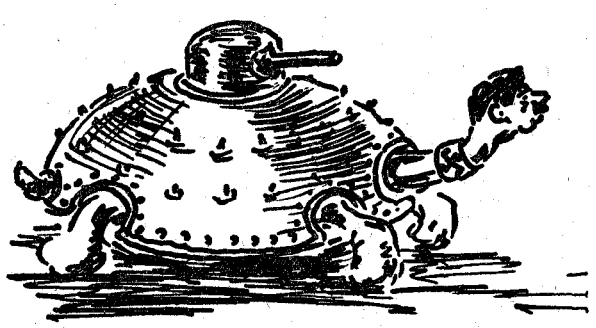
willingness to permit Russia's troops to operate on Polish soil even in its defense; and most important, Germany's isolation of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, and use of the small eastern states as a springboard for her attack on Russia.

If there is to be no repetition of these events, if Germany is to be prevented from ever again forcing the smaller eastern European nations into the German military orbit, Russia's boundaries must be secure and each of her neighboring countries must pursue a foreign policy consistent in ultimate objectives with that of Russia.

It may be argued that Russia's territorial demands are excessive in terms of her security requirements; but to contend that they manifest expansionist ambitions or designs to communize Europe is to ignore one of the fundamental causes of the war and one of the basic conditions for peace. Such a contention disregards the fact that were Russia bent on communizing Eastern Europe she would have or should have taken a different course of action during the past year or more.

By December 1943 it had become clear that Russia was well on her way to becoming the dominant military power in eastern Europe; and had she so desired, no force could have prevented her from annexing or communizing the European countries bordering on Russian territory. Yet Russia has assiduously eschewed such action. Instead, she has signed a mutual assistance pact with Czechoslovakia which guarantees that country's independence and includes a protocol which offers the same kind of agreement with "any third power bordering on the USSR or the Czechoslovak Republic and representing in this war an object of German aggression."

Russia, in other words, has clearly demonstrated that her chief objective is security; that she regards the maintenance of her dominant position in relation to Germany as an essential step in the preservation of peace in Europe.



The same motive would seem to account for Russia's position at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. In the words of *Izvestia*, on October 11 of this year, Russia is painfully aware that "the principal lesson to be drawn from the failure of the League of Nations is that without a firm agreement and joint activities of the leading peace-loving powers, the preservation of peace, warding off of aggression, and, even more, the suppression of aggression remain illusions. . . ."

Russia remembers that Clemenceau's request for a definitive settlement with Germany prior to the founding of a new world organization was not heeded; that France's request for tangible security from her erstwhile allies was turned aside; and that the League, because its leading members lacked a common policy in relation to Germany, failed to provide that security. She also remembers that the only occasion on which the League of Nations acted with dispatch was in 1940 when it forced Russia out of the League.

For these reasons the Soviet Union is reluctant to rely too heavily for her security on the proposed new world organization. She wants to be as certain as possible that the Allies have implemented concretely and specifically their avowed policy to repel any future German aggression. She wants to be certain that the new organization will not be turned into a kind of capitalist alliance against her and is, therefore, insisting on the right of a permanent member of the projected Council to veto any action affecting a dispute in which the member is directly involved.

Russia is, no doubt, hypersensitive on this score; but it must be remembered that this is a natural reaction to western fears of "communism." Unfortunately, the persistence of mutual suspicion sustains German hopes that future military ventures may be feasible. If the opportunity is granted her, Germany can again pose before France, Britain and the United States as a country eager to cooperate in any policy aimed at checking the spread of communism, while to Russia she can offer her-

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self as an ally willing to help the Soviet against the threat from the capitalist West.

Should Germany succeed in convincing either, the alliance between the West and Russia, forged on the anvil of war, will be broken and the way opened for Germany to isolate those powers whose collaboration must be maintained if peace is to have an opportunity to take root in Europe.

Russian Hopes Bright

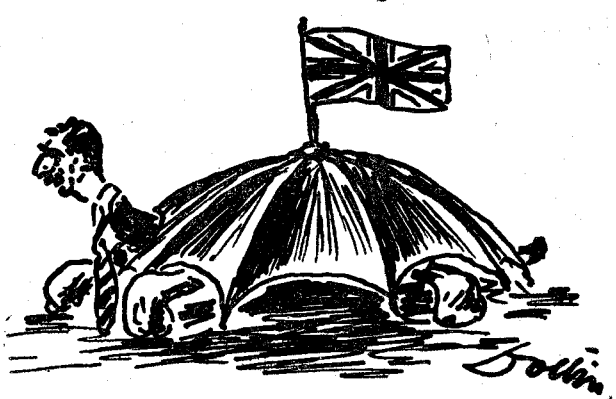
IT becomes all the more essential to dissipate the confusion and suspicion engendered by communist and capitalist bogeys in view of the fact that in most respects Russian prospects for the maintenance of her security after this war are brighter than were French prospects after the last. To begin with, Russia's assets are much more commensurate with her role than were those of France. Her actual and potential resources are greater than those of any other nation on the continent and she has demonstrated that she has the technical competence to maintain and develop a modern industrial economy. Unlike France after the last war Russia will emerge from four years of bloody battle with the psychology of a victor rather than that of a near loser. More than France after Versailles, Russia is prepared economically and psychologically to play an active and leading role in the establishment and maintenance of a European system secure against the possibility of a new rise in German power.

Another factor congenial to Russia's hopes is the unlikelihood that any large portion of Europe will be left out of the peace settlement. At Versailles the largest land area of Europe — Soviet Russia — was isolated, with the result that France had to concern herself not only with the problems of security in the west; but she could never be certain about the intentions of her old eastern ally. During the twenties the fear of active Russo-German collaboration always hovered over France, and the Little Entente sponsored by the French was meager insurance against that threat. After Russia joined the League, there was some hope that she might be included in a European system dedicated to the preservation of peace. The required collaboration never materialized and the failure of France, Great Britain and Russia to achieve a solid front against aggression was memorialized in the German-Russian Non-Aggression Pact of August 1939, and in the consequent all but final triumph of the Nazis.

After this war no such gap will appear in the European political structure. No development equal to the Russian Revolution of 1917 in its divisive political impact on the world is in the offing. Moreover, out of the terrible trials of the past five years there will emerge in Europe a new cohesive factor. Practically every country in Europe has suffered from the blight of German occupation. These countries are as determined as Russia that never again shall Germany be capable of military aggression. In this vital respect, Europe has a unity of purpose which was lacking after 1919. Hitler has succeeded in impressing upon Europe a lesson which Clemenceau preached without effect.

Most important, the present governments in Great Britain and the United States seem determined to avoid the mistakes made after the last war. They recognize, as Winston Churchill put it in a recent speech, that "the future of the whole world and the general future of Europe . . . depends upon cordial, trustful and comprehending associations of the British Empire, the United States and Soviet Russia, and no pains must be spared and no patience grudged which is necessary to bring the supreme hope to fruition."

Specifically this means that recognition of Russia's new role in Europe must be part of the policy of assuring Russia that she "gets the security which," according to Mr. Churchill, "she is entitled to have." A conscious attempt will be made to give Russia what France sought in vain.



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THE STATE DEPARTMENT GOES TO TOWN

By

ULRIC BELL

"TELL it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon."

That injunction was good enough for the Old Testament Samuel; but it is not good enough for your current, starspangled Uncle of the same name. At least, it is not enough to meet the current demands upon American diplomacy.

So the brand new Secretary of State, Mr. Stettinius, has started out on a brand new policy of letting the people know—telling it not only in the modern counterparts of Gath and Askelon but wherever serious-minded citizens will pause to listen. By all the signs, he is making a valiant effort to wrench his department loose from its old and secret ways, unafraid "lest the daughters of the Phillistines rejoice."

In a word, the State Department has invited the people to take a direct part in the shaping of foreign policy and the establishment of a peace more durable than the last. Never before have Citizen Smith and his neighbors had such a chance to sit in on the big stuff, for besides opening the departmental doors to a host of amateur statesmen, the department literally is going out to knock upon the doors of average citizens, spreading information and asking questions—

"What would *you* do, Mr. Throckmorton, if you were in our place?"

And, already, one can almost piece together the words of the third vice president of the First National Bank in the smoking compartment: "As Ed Stettinius was saying the other day—"

In the last issue of FREE WORLD, the tentative steps of the Department in this direction were described. Then it was related that Mr. Stettinius had agreed to a proposal of Americans United For World Organization that its chairman, Dr. Ernest M. Hopkins, call together the representatives of nearly one hundred national organizations of all kinds to meet the Dumbarton delegates in Washington. How this procedure startled and astounded the veteran newsmen covering the Department was told: And the venture was pronounced a success, both from the standpoint of the response it met and from that of freedom of information and freedom of speech. The ninety-six organizations actually represented were a true cross-section of 1944 America, the sobered, thoughtful America that recognizes with Mr. Stettinius and his colleagues that the coming tragically-won chance for real peace may be the last.

As this issue goes to press, Mr. Stettinius is Secretary of State and the beginning on October 16th has developed into a full-blown program for carrying the Dumbarton Oaks proposals to the country, explaining them and asking the people to comment. In fifteen key cities, Dumbarton Oaks delegates and technical advisers are expounding the formula agreed upon tentatively by the United States, Great Britain, China, and Russia. They are appearing in both public and off-the-record sessions arranged by Americans United, which, on its own, is campaigning in favor of the Dumbarton plan as a start toward an even better peace set-up.

What was done in October was in the nature of a house-warming for a new policy

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of public enlightenment after a period during which the Department too often was criticized for being stiffish about taking the people into its confidence. What is now being done is in the nature of barnstorming to carry the tidings to the people's front doors. In Boston, the foremost experts of the Department exposed themselves to the scrutiny of audiences ranging in make-up from leading savants of Harvard to folks from the other side of the tracks, from the Lowells and the Cabots to the Murphys and Cohens and Schmidts. The President of Dartmouth, Dr. Hopkins, helped there to introduce the folks to their Government.

In Los Angeles, at a hotel half-way betwixt the sprawling city and high-powered Hollywood, many had to be turned away from a public meeting addressed personally by Admiral Arthur J. Hepburn, the senior military delegate to Dumbarton, and proxy-wise in a message imparted by Mr. Stettinius himself through Movie Producer Walter Wanger, the chairman. On as tight a traveling schedule as any Hollywood group of entertainers making the USO circuit, the Admiral and a team of able technical men were en route also to San Francisco, Portland, Seattle and Salt Lake City, with others going on to Denver. Hollywood, far more alert to the serious issues of the day than outsiders would guess, showed its interest by helping to provide a "standing room only" occasion of the meeting of the Free World Association.

Ambassador Joseph C. Grew, notwithstanding the gauntlet of the Senate in the matter of his appointment as Under Secretary, was poised for a quick dash to Chicago to address a gathering sponsored by the Chicago Association of Commerce and the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations—right under Colonel McCormick's nose. Other outstanding representatives of the Department were to go along for off-the-record meetings.

In Detroit, after Mr. Grew had been obliged to cancel his scheduled appearance, other departmental experts carried on, while Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, vice president of AU and former Minister to Norway, addressed a public meeting of a sort typical of that teeming metropolis. By way of accenting the freedom of arrangements between AU and the State Department, Mrs. Harriman warned her old alma mater—the Department—that the American rank and file were expecting it to carry on, not in behalf of reactionary regimes abroad, but in behalf of the democratic aspirations of the liberated peoples.

Ambassador Edwin C. Wilson, another Dumbarton delegate, with a staff, faced an itinerary covering Kansas City, Des Moines, St. Paul and Minneapolis. Dr. Isaiah Bowman, head of Johns Hopkins, was headed for sessions in Philadelphia, where President John W. Nason of Swarthmore was the regional impresario. Other imposing teams were bound for Dallas, and St. Louis.

All this was transpiring in spite of the commotion being raised over the reorganization of the department, with Mr. Grew and five proposed new assistant secretaries under scrutiny by the Senate.

An overtone to the whole program nevertheless was the Secretary's first pronouncement in disagreement with the British policy in Italy and Greece—which Americans United hailed with "high hope" and a plea to Mr. Stettinius to nail even more firmly to the American masthead the President's phrase—"we will have no truck with fascism."

This was of commanding importance in the light of the Department's new relations with the ordinary citizens of the republic. Of even more moment, was the fact that these citizens, by virtue of the daring of young Mr. Stettinius, had been recognized in the matter of having a personal say about this country's relations with the rest of the world.

Not all the jumps toward complete publicity of diplomatic matters have been or can be taken by the Department. But if the Rotary and the Legion, the CIO and the PAC, the NAM and the bar and banks and the AFL and the NAACP, among others, can advise concerning Dumbarton, the Department can hardly shun the same contact with the public regarding cartels, trade arrangements, relief and rehabilitation, monetary problems, what to do with Germany and all the other war and postwar questions.

Once you begin telling it in Gath and publishing it in Askelon, you're on the air.

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BOOKS

A Foreign Policy for Peacetime

FOREIGN POLICY BEGINS AT HOME, by James P. Warburg. Harcourt, Brace. 308 *pages.* $2.50

HERE COMES TOMORROW, by A. W. Zelomek. Ziff-Davis. 131 *pages.* $2.00

THESE books complement one another. Both look into the postwar future; each is an expert and realistic prospectus, but each from a different point of view. Neither pretends to clairvoyance.

A. W. Zelomek, a professional economist, is concerned primarily with the dollars-and-cents side of making the economic wheels go 'round. He examines the possibilities of full employment, of buying and selling abroad and of getting a new refrigerator.

James P. Warburg, who has been identified with the New Deal's foreign economic policies since the first Roosevelt administration, sees the postwar future, too, in terms of economics but he is concerned essentially with the kind of political framework which will be built—whether or not it will provide room for all to live in peace.

Both books are surveys of their broad fields but their authors, wisely, have not sacrificed well-rounded, serious studies in their efforts to reach the novitiates in world affairs with brevity and simplicity. For their purposes, they are excellent and I doubt that there are many readers on such intimate terms with these complex problems that they will not benefit from them. Mine will remain on the shelf both for reference and for perspective later on when the inevitable crises arise and loom out of all proportion to their proper places in the picture.

Not as a reviewer, but as an editor, I want to observe parenthetically here that these books —entirely apart from their merit—are singularly appropriate today. I refer to their appeal to a new element of readers suddenly awakened by this war to the awful necessity of keeping the world in equilibrium and to the burden on each of us to be alert to our own and our neighbors' attitudes.

Warburg, who until recently was overseas for the Office of War Information and has had occasion to discuss international problems with many soldiers, remarks how impressed he was with their eagerness to be informed and to understand the forces which have put them where they are. I, too, have had a similar experience in Army camps and hospitals on this side. I have noted it not only among soldiers but also among civilians and I sense that there is not only curiosity but also a great depth of feeling. The responsiveness, the grasp on fundamentals so many seem to have managed for themselves simply because they had to find out what the shootin's all about is a bright omen. The more books pitched on the popular level, therefore, the more light, and the more light the more chance that the United States will use its ponderous weight in the future with more wisdom than in the past.

Foreign Policy Begins At Home had the misfortune to have been published at a moment when events were moving too rapidly. Mr. Warburg devotes most of his book to a sharply clear picture of the evolution of United States foreign policy and to the relationship between our attitudes at home and our behavior abroad. That leads him to his final chapters, "Prospects for Peace" and "What We Can Do." Unfortunately, they are already dated. Since his book went to the printer, the national elections have hinted "what we can do" by reelecting Mr. Roosevelt and casting out of Congress some of his bitterest isolationist opponents. The Bretton Woods Conference since has provided at least an open forum for discussion of international monetary problems and Dumbarton Oaks has drafted a blueprint for a world security organization.

This is no fatal fault in Warburg's book, by any means, since neither the conferences nor the election radically alter the basic situation. We already had Roosevelt and we already had the Atlantic Charter, the United Nations Declaration and the 30-nation joint monetary statement of last April. But the war has moved much nearer a conclusion in Europe and it would have been better had Warburg's liberal

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views been projected on the later steps toward postwar organization.

As this commentary is written, the political situations in Italy, Belgium and the Polish Government in London are in upheaval. In all three, the influential hand of Britain is evident. At the risk, therefore, of neglecting some other timely lessons in *Foreign Policy Begins at Home,* this one cries out for mention:

By his emphasis on "the mistakes of Allied policy in Europe after World War I"—in essence, that the Allies used their victory to maintain in power the prewar reactionary political and economic forces rather than to promote the causes of democracy—there emerges a terrible parallel with the policies so far of the United Nations in World War II.

For instance, Article V of the Armistice Agreement and Article Four of the Atlantic Charter as the backdrop for our dealings with Umberto, Pierlot and Mikolajczyk. . . .

Under an interpretation of Article V, Warburg recalls, the Allies decreed that they would deal only with officials of the ex-Kaiser's Government, clearly insisting "upon the preservation of the pre-war social structure of Germany," despite the fact that the Social Democrats, with a majority of the German workers and millions of supporters in the German Army, were the only group capable of restoring order.

Article Four of the Atlantic Charter pledges an effort to open to all nations, on equal terms, access to world trade and raw materials but with this reservation by its signatories: that the effort must stay within "due respect for their existing obligations."

Warburg observes:

"Since the signatories of the Lend-Lease Agreements include most of the great trading nations of the world, and since 'victor and vanquished' are included in the intentions of the Atlantic Charter, the foundations of economic peace are here laid as carefully and securely as it is possible to lay them by an agreement expressed in words—unless the phrase 'with due respect for their existing obligations' implies that here, too, the door was left open for cynical 'interpretation.'

"If 'existing obligations' are going to mean 'considerations of narrow self-nationalism,' then the whole paragraph is meaningless and the Lend-Lease foundations of economic peace are built upon sand. The reservation was from the start attributed to the British Prime Minister, but was not clarified until April 21, 1944, when it was stated by Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons that he had inserted it in order to retain for Britain 'the fullest possible rights and liberties over the question of imperial preference.'"

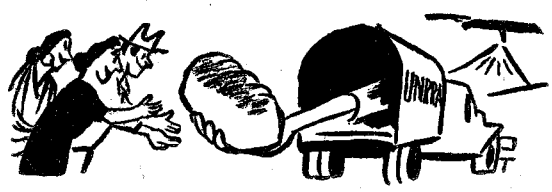
Neither Warburg nor Zelomek, of course, believes that the whole responsibility for postwar organization rests upon the United States. But it is striking how both of them, taking their sights on the future from different outlooks, stress the heavy obligations of this country.

To Zelomek, two problems are involved—first, the necessities of relief immediately after the war when the good or ill will of Europe will crystallize; secondly, the longer-range test of how we use our economic power in reopening channels of trade.

Here Comes Tomorrow sounds like a salutation to the dawn, perhaps a literary exultation. But there is no extravagant rejoicing in Zelomek's book. It is a temperate forecast, with some aspirations which will not be fulfilled as well as some that will. There will be new cars and new gadgets and new plastics. But he finds no miracle formula for instantaneous reconversion without layoffs or cut-backs in employment. He has no panacea for the world's ills.

Although Zelomek recognizes that economic laws do not operate in a vacuum and makes due allowance for the effects of our folkways, especially in his picture of the postwar United States, his presentation suffers from a lack of clearcut attitude. He is not, for instance, the fluent advocate of liberalism that Warburg is. There are not enough answers to the "How?" and "Why?" of some of his conclusions which, therefore, seem detached and academic. And this reader would have appreciated some discussion and speculation on Government spending as a planned stabilizer in our domestic economy.

BARNETT BILDERSEE



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A Grammar for Democracy

FREEDOM AND CIVILIZATION by Bronislaw Malinowski. Roy Publishers. 336 pages. $3.50

"THE world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people, just now, are much in want of one," said Abraham Lincoln in his Baltimore address on April 18, 1864. Lincoln understood the importance of such a definition, for few words have been more abused in history than the word "freedom." Tyrants and dictators whose power has been based on secret police, henchmen, concentration camps and death sentences constantly talk of liberty.

Does not Adolf Hitler speak about freedom as his supreme goal?—freedom for the German people, of course. There has been reason for this abuse. The word freedom has had a unique, an almost mystical force. People have fought and died for it. They have gone to gallows and to guillotines for this magic word which has meant so much to human progress. It is a great symbol, but it is easy to abuse power in the name of lofty ideas and liberty, for it is difficult to condemn people to death with the only justification being the will of dictators or of class interest. The proper definition of freedom, therefore, is of basic importance for the future of our democratic system.

John Stuart Mill gave philosophical foundation to the meaning of liberty, and there have been efforts made to formulate it sociologically, but some social scientists found its analysis too difficult and finally concluded that freedom as such cannot be analyzed. It must simply be recognized and accepted.

Toward the end of his life, Bronislaw Malinowski decided to attempt to solve the great problem which he regarded as basic for the forthcoming peace settlement and for our future democratic order. Tragically enough, he died before the work was finally completed and edited. Valetta Malinowski, his wife, edited the manuscript with skill, intelligence and devotion.

The great anthropologist and sociologist based his analysis on his almost life-long experience in various human societies and on his intimate knowledge of human society and its evolution. His definitions are precise and, as always, he clearly distinguishes between black and white, bad and good. This is not a lukewarm approach. In a one-volume analysis of the great problem, the reader is directed in a lucid and direct fashion to the truth. Malinowski defines freedom as "conditions sufficient for the formation of a purpose, its translation into effective action through organized cultural instrumentalities, and the full enjoyment of the results of such activity."

The essential element is a free choice of purpose. For example, a democratic state gives us the choice of joining various political parties with divergent platforms. We can, within the limits set by law and order, develop political activities and finally, within the same limits, enjoy the results which may be the election of representatives to the legislative bodies and the materialization of the purpose, as for instance, social security. Contrary to the anarchist, Malinowski recognizes organization as the basic element in the preservation of freedom, but shows that human organizations must be based on free, democratic and autonomous institutions which form one of the instrumentalities of freedom. "Democracy," he says, "is freedom in action." He shows that the basic form of primitive society is a democratic one and presents the mechanism of primitive democracy, or of proto-democracy as he calls it, in a manner that is not only interesting and scientific, but artistic as well.

Malinowski believes that the growth and development of our culture is the growth of freedom itself, as Benedetto Croce believes European history to be the struggle for liberty. The invention of machines and airplanes have given us freedom of movement, social security gives us freedom from the fear of insecurity, and an international organization—a strong League of Nations—will give the small nations freedom from the fear of conquest and aggression. Thus the growth of culture increases our measure of freedom, and the decline of freedom is directly linked to the decline of culture. And that is the essence of totalitarianism.

Malinowski thoroughly analyzes the relation of freedom to discipline, organization, religion,

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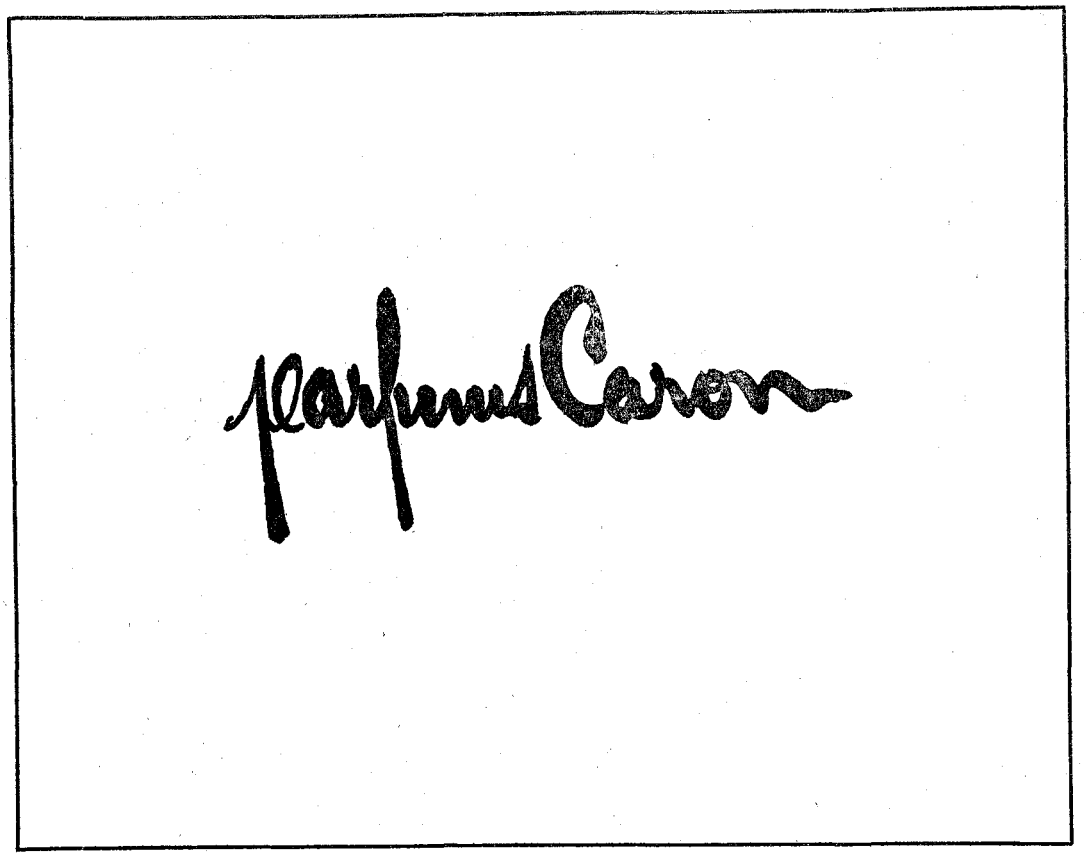

mechanical development, the state, totalitarianism, etc. He concludes that democracy and a universal commonwealth or federation are the foundations for further cultural development and sums up the main aspects of democracy as follows:

"(1) No centralized power which dictates all aspects of life.
(2) Distribution of influence to those who do the work.
(3) No accumulated monopolies.
(4) No secret or open centers of oppression by violence, blatantly illegal or camouflaged, from which there is no redress and no appeal.
(5) Access by one and all to most avenues of influence and self-expression."

He also gives the following outline for the foundation of a federation of nations:

"1. The complete disarmament of everyone except for internal police and militia.
2. The establishment of an international world police force, in which even the smallest unit would have to be international. The most effective branch of the international police force would be its air force. There must be several centers of command with special arrangements for curbing any attempt at misuse.
3. The principle of the division of powers.
4. The establishment of an international court.
5. International executive offices, such as existed in Geneva.
6. There would be an unquestionable and absolute right of succession of one national group from another, within the Federation. A larger confederation composed of small cultural groups or nations would benefit for many reasons, though every small group would lose in influence within the Federation."

This is the book of a great scientist and humanist who believes in a better world. It is a grammar for democracy which will remain in our literature and will eventually share the position of Mill's essay, "On Liberty."

FELIKS GROSS

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A Battle Cry Against the International Cartels

CARTELS CHALLENGE TO A FREE WORLD, by Wendell Berge, Public Affairs Press. Washington. 266 *pages.* $3.25

WITH a courage and resoluteness which could seldom be found among the governments of other countries, the Department of Justice as well as Congressional Committees have exposed in recent years the practices of big American trusts, which have been equally as detrimental to American economy as to her foreign policy. Today, names like Thurman Arnold, Kilgore, Wendell Berge have become symbols—far beyond the borders of the United States—for the tenacious fight waged by American democracy against those autocrats of economy who have quite frequently placed their own profit interests above the interests of the nation.

It is a fact that even in this country, there are many who have been taken in by that kind of Goebbels propaganda which paints the Nazi system as a form of socialism. It is not a coincidence that this Goebbels version has found an echo in the most reactionary circles—it is in this way that they have managed to construct a similarity between the Soviet and the Nazi system and attempted to add an anti-Russian angle to this war that has been forced upon the democracies by Hitler.

In reality, Germany has been dominated by an unlimited cartel dictatorship ever since Hitler's conquest of power. Beware all those who might try to write a book in the Third Reich exposing and branding the cutthroat policy which the German monopolies have used against small business! The very fact that a book like this one—with its strong indictment of the tycoons of American economy—can be published, proves the whole superiority of the American system as compared to the German.

Moreover, it is not just another private citizen; it is an Assistant Attorney General of the United States, a high government official, who has brought up these charges and who—as head of the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice—has exposed and smashed a series of these cartels with an iron fist.

In clear and intelligible form, Wendell Berge describes the most outstanding cases in the long and ominous record of the international cartels, which he defines as "trusts magnified to an international scale." They are not promoters of abundance but of scarcity. Rather than develop scientific research for the benefit of mankind, they have restrained it. They have exploited patents as a chief weapon to strangle new and small enterprises. They have discouraged inventors and prevented the production of valuable and low-priced products. They have undermined the nation's health status by making vital medicines and vitamins the objects of profit-craving monopolies. They are – and Berge's book establishes this beyond the shadow of a doubt—responsible for the fact that the outbreak of the war found the armed forces of this country in want of some of the most indispensable materiel.

This brings us to the crucial point of the book. Leading American trusts have adopted a foreign policy of their own, double-crossing the official foreign policy of Washington. The shameless "Munich peace" which sold out the small European countries to Hitler, was supplemented by an economic version of Munich, a policy which transformed all South America into a colony of nazi trusts.

The selling out of the Latin American market to IG Farben, Schering, etc., by cartel arrangements, put the German trusts in a position to organize a gigantic Nazi party apparatus in South America, for the purpose of staging a series of coups d'etat in order to set up governments hostile to the United States. While Washington was carrying out the Good Neighbor Policy, North American trusts made deals which not merely impaired South American commerce and industry, but—even in the middle of the second world war—assured the uncrowned kings of nazi Germany the reestablishment of their power positions in the Southern half of this hemisphere after the end of the war.

To make the picture complete, the author points out how, in 1921, American firms—naturally behind their government's back—started to assist the German armament industry in breaking the Versailles Peace Treaty, which had prohibited Germany from having large-scale manufacture of military equipment. These firms supplied the magnates of Hitler's war industry with United States military secrets!

Wendell Berge's book leaves no doubt that the policy of the Atlantic Charter, the democratic foreign policy of Good Will, will be an

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impossibility as long as these international cartels dominate world economy and constitute a constant menace to the sovereignty of entire nations. These international secret pacts, which threaten American firms, the security of America and the world, must come to an end.

To achieve this, the author advocates that all cartel agreements be made public. By way of anti-trust action the cartels are to be broken up and all American firms—big and small—are to be given an opportunity to engage in foreign trade. Inter-governmental action must prevent the exploitation of raw material sources, while adoption of minimum wage and health standards will raise the substandard labor conditions of certain countries.

Of course, we may not skip from the extreme of cartel pacts to that of an international economic free-for-all fight. The task of transferring the military-political unity of the Allies to the economic field cannot be solved solely on the power of those magic words "free enterprise" and "unrestrained competition." This very important question remains unanswered in Mr. Berge's book. It is, however, answered in the remarkable "Findings and Recommendations" of the Kilgore Subcommittee of the Committee on Military Affairs. [EDITOR'S NOTE: See Mr. Kilgore's article in the December issue of FREE WORLD.]

This courageous book by Wendell Berge, the fighter against economic privilege, should receive the wide publicity it deserves. Churches, unions and clubs throughout the country should choose it as the subject of lectures and courses. An attempt as constructive as this one, designed to remove difficult obstacles which are blocking the process of democratizing economy, may not be permitted to be hushed up.

ALBERT NORDEN

Music for Internationalists

BOHUSLAV MARTINU, by Milos Safranek. Alfred A. Knopf. 119 *pages.* $3.00

THOSE of us who believe that art can make the international understandings of the future more comprehensive, welcome the admirable study by Milos Safranek of the life, influences and work of Bohuslav Martinu. The book reveals a purposeful composer as philosopher and as artist.

As philosopher Martinu is keenly aware of the problems of today's world. As artist his continual struggle has been to create an absolute music which interprets these problems.

Martinu has little or no interest in musical novelty. Classicism and modernism alike interest him, but only in so far as they represent an interpretive medium for emotions common to all mankind, whether the peasants of Martinu's own Czechoslovakia or the rulers of the dominant nations of the world. The author has vividly pictured the struggle of this artist to find such basic emotions. Selected examples and critical analysis of the composer's most important works are used to show how he has sought to create music to express these forces.

* * * "The deepest inspiration of his music is to be found in the soul of the Czechoslovak people. As far as melody and sometimes even harmony are concerned, its source is in the Moravian folk songs." * * *

* * * "If Martinu's creative tendencies could be summarized, one might say that the two pillars upon which his work rests are the form of the concerto grosso and the melody of Czechoslovakia." * * *

The author has given much time to study of the composer's works. His book contains splendid critical analyses both of the particular works and of the composer's creative activity as a whole.

The point of primary interest to the reviewer is the internationalism of the composer. This Safranek attributes to the years Martinu spent in Paris. His outlook was enriched by the internationism of that metropolis. It clarified his own innate Czechoslovakian expression. Still later his life in America gave him increased authority and freedom of expression, and has enlarged materially his craftsmanship. His compositions no longer are attached exclusively to a local soil but contribute rather as a Czech component to world culture.

This book has significance for all persons aware of the power of music to create a common understanding among men. For musicians interested in pure music, it is acceptable as evidence that the composer Bohuslav Martinu is only at the beginning of his creative career. Now residing in America and sensitive to the forces that surround him here, he will continue to create new and more significant works. The understanding, comprehension and enjoyment of these will be enhanced by better knowledge of the music he has already created.

JOHN G. PAINE

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CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

Basque President Accuses Franco

ESCAPE VIA BERLIN, by Jose Antonio de Aguirre. Macmillan. 361 pages. $3.00

THE former president of the Basque Government gives an impressive account of the fighting fall of the tiny republic in the north of Spain, victim of the aggression by Franco's and Mussolini's hordes and Hitler's Luftwaffe. Aguirre's flight from the Gestapo directly into the lion's den and his experiences during five months while living illegally in Germany in 1941 make exciting reading. Hunted by Hitler, he had to endure privations and suffering though he was one of those few privileged who were helped and finally saved by high ranking diplomats.

The historian will be interested in the hitherto unknown details of an unsuccessful intervention by Cardinal Pacelli, now Pope Pius. Made in the beginning of 1937, it proposed the surrender of the Basque Republic to General Franco who for his part had to respect the lives of those laying down arms. The fervent Catholic Aguirre is convinced that the authority of the church would have been greatly strengthened if it had not extended "its blessings to those who had provoked the horrible conflict and called in the aid of the Nazis and Fascists." Ardently accusing Franco who parades as a defender of Christianity and makes use of the communist scarecrow, the author shows that the Spanish fascist regime was and is destroying all political, social and national freedom.

The impossible and contradictory position of those circles in this hemisphere who oppose Hitler but applaud the so-called Christian dictatorship of Franco is exposed very convincingly. The danger of "Hispanidad" and its imperialistic fascist ideology would be banned if there existed a free Spain. Certainly such a democratic Spain, too, would have cordial relations with the Spanish-speaking nations of Latin America. But these can only be bonds of peaceful amity, at the same time strengthening the ties between Latin and North America, while "Hispanidad" is inciting one against the other.

The book makes a strong case for democracy. Its importance would be still greater if Mr. Aguirre had told us *how* the Spanish Republic and the independence of the Basque nation can be restored. Isn't he, too, convinced that—given at least the neutrality of the big powers—there is only one way to reach this goal: cooperation of all anti-fascist Spanish forces?

ALBERT NORDEN

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Recommended Books
For FREE WORLD Readers

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The Time for Decision
by Sumner Welles (Harpers)

•

Freedom from Fear
by Louis H. Pink (Harpers)

•

The Sinews of Peace
by Herbert Feis (Harpers)

•

Foreign Policy Begins at Home
by James P. Warburg (Harcourt, Brace)

•

The Condition of Man
by Lewis Mumford (Harcourt, Brace)

•

Escape via Berlin
by Jose Antonio de Aguirre (MacMillan)

•

The Great Decision
by James T. Shotwell (MacMillan)

•

State of the Nation
by John Dos Passos (Houghton Mifflin)

•

Der Fuehrer
by Konrad Heiden (Houghton Mifflin)

•

Triumph of Treason
by Pierre Cot (Ziff-Davis)

•

The Gentlemen Talk of Peace
by William B. Ziff (Ziff-Davis)

•

The World of Washington Irving
by Van Wyck Brooks (Dutton)

•

Basic History of the United States
by Charles A. and Mary R. Beard
(Doubleday-Doran)

•

So Sorry, No Peace
by Royal Arch Gunnison (Viking)

•

The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness
by Reinhold Niebuhr (Scribner)

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1. *Chicago Sun*
2. *Newsweek*
3. *N. Y. Herald Tribune*
4. *N. Y. Herald Tribune Book Review*

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A Check List of Forthcoming Books

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE WAR., by Waverly Root. 2 volumes. Scribner, $10.00. A top-notch reporter takes the reader behind the scenes in country after country to reveal the inside story of the war. Some topics he covers: fifth column preparations; the offensives—military, diplomatic, economic; secret organizations and resistance in invaded countries; the secret story of Poland's defeat; the Axis in South America.

CREATIVE DEMOBILIZATION, written and edited by E. A. Gutkind. Oxford University Press. 2 volumes. $6.00. National planning and its applications to the myriad human problems that will follow this war and the demobilization. Volume one is a survey, with maps and plans, of the principles which must guide national planning. Particular emphasis is placed on the lessons to be learned from the Soviet Union and the U. S. The second volume contains selected case studies divided into four sections: Human Geography; Agriculture; Industry; Decentralization and Dispersal.

"Signpost for the Immediate Future"

Of plans for the better post-war world there is no end. All are urged upon us by their authors with siren passion and, often, terrifying vehemence. With merciless logic and the satire of which he is master, C. E. M. Joad sends his young soldier inquisitor through the labyrinth of post-war plans for the promised golden age. "Exactly *what*," he asks, "*is* a better world, to begin with? Exactly how can it be brought into being?" Only a mind as prophetic as Joad's could do such witty, illusion-deflating justice to this most important of today's topics. If you, too, are wondering what tomorrow will bring, follow

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ARCO PUBLISHING CO., 480 Lexington Ave., N. Y. 17, N. Y.

THE CHINESE LABOR MOVEMENT, by Nym Wales. John Day. 264 *pages.* $2.50. The story of the labor movement in China with an account of its rapid rise and subsequent suppression. The author sees labor's growth as an integral part of the struggle of the Chinese people for full national sovereignty and democracy.

THE PUBLIC DEBT, by William Withers. John Day. 112 *pages.* $1.75. Are we entering a mixed economy where public investment will take its place along with private investment? Should we use government-owned war plants and lend-lease materials as a means of public investment and assets behind the debt? The author suggests answers to these problems and discusses their bearing on total employment and total consumption of goods.

CROSSROADS OF TWO CONTINENTS, Feliks Gross, Columbia University Press. 143 *pages.* $2.00. The patchwork of peoples who inhabit the stormy and blood-soaked region of East-Central Europe have long aspired to independence, democracy and peace. Current plans for a democratic federation of this area and for a European Union are here critically analyzed by the editor of *New Europe* magazine.

PIONEERS IN WORLD ORDER, edited by Harriet Eager Davis. Columbia University Press. 266 *pages.* $2.75. Seventeen Americans, who have been associated professionally with the League for some years, survey its international framework and facilities and review ways in which the United Nations may use existing machinery.

THE ECONOMIST, 1843-1943. *Oxford University Press.* 200 *pages.* $2.50. The English newspaper that for a hundred years has exerted powerful influence on the thought of people throughout the world issues this collection of historically significant articles in celebration of its centenary.

PEACE, edited by Otto Zoff. Pantheon Books. 400 *pages.* $3.50. Man's centuries-old effort to develop an orderly structure of society and to achieve his desire for worldwide peace is revealed here in an anthology of historic documents.

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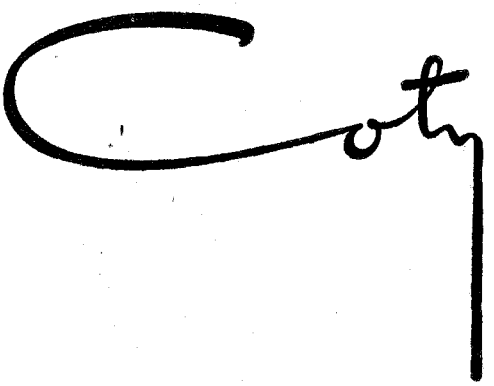

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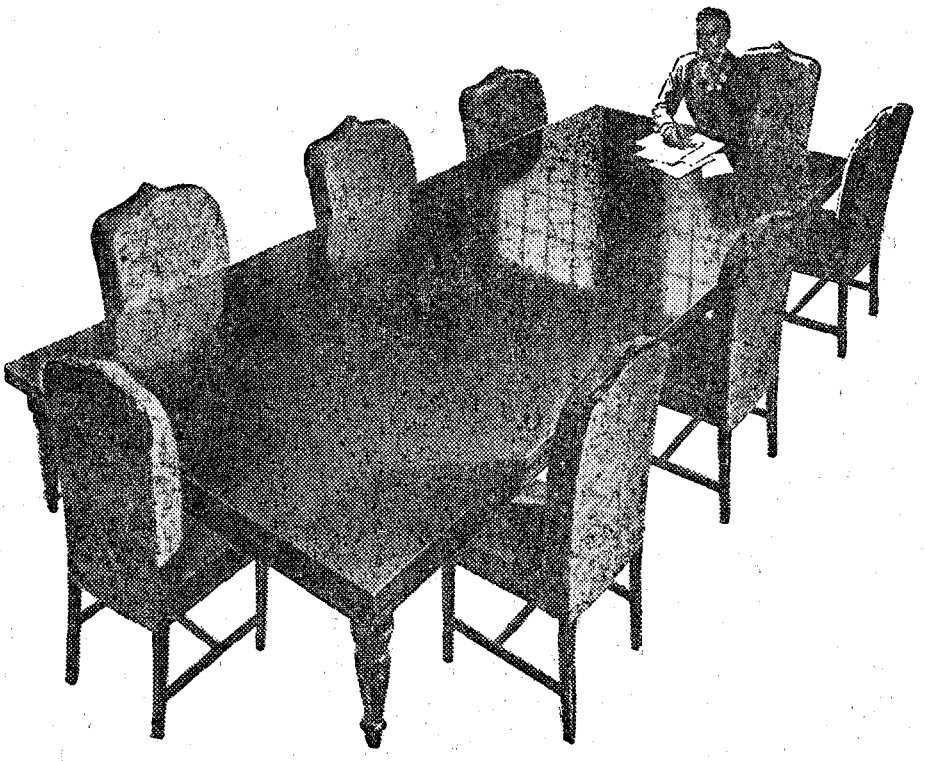

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